

To give an overall account of the political conditions and events in the Far East and the Pacific had always been in the author's mind. Far Eastern friends supported this plan particularly warmly. Nevertheless, it has been postponed again and again with forethought, because an essential precondition was missing. One should not write books about the politics of those countries and regions that are not only far away, but which are also difficult for us Europeans to grasp inwardly, before one has come close to their problems with one's own eyes on the spot. It is certainly possible to put down on paper, from one's desk at home, fruitful works on the subject that will stand the test of time before the eyes of the people of the East. But they lack the final touches, perhaps even the first foundation, to build a watertight edifice.

Every country is determined by the natural conditions in which its inhabitants grow up and from which its leaders draw their strength to work for the prosperity of the state. These conditions are different in Europe than in America, different from those in the Far East and in the Pacific countries. It is too easy to transfer European views to foreign countries, to look at them with a European eye, which makes it necessary to delve into the soul of the foreign people in order to really understand them. It is an exaggerated demand to see the foreign country only in its own way. Even the inhabitants of the Far East must accept that the Europeans see them with their own eyes. But when it comes to the deeper understanding, then simply seeing and observing from afar is not enough. Only a trip to those countries can fill in the existing gaps. This basic attitude is especially true for Japan and China, even though years of study have paved the way to them.

Now that the journey has taken place, the book can go out. Hopefully, the Far Eastern friends will also be satisfied with it.

The author

ON THE HIGH ROAD

THE BRITISH EMPIRE TO THE EAST

Going on a trip to Japan in the spring of 1939 meant more than visiting a country friendly to Germany for the first time. The trip was to a proud nation that had passed through history undefeated and was now at the end of the third year of a decisive and losing confrontation with the Chinese people.

Observing and testing how the island nation of the Japanese, in its expansion to the continent, endured this never-declared war on battlefields far from home and in its own country, put its special stamp on the trip to the East and made it a highly political journey full of profound impressions and experiences. Now it was possible to enter into the closest contact with all the problems that had hitherto been pursued only from a distance, problems in which the great and world power Japan stands, which determine its path and which it seeks to solve in the ascent to greater mission. "It is not the lukewarm and neutral who make history, but the people who take up the struggle⁴⁴ (Hitler). To the Japanese, the confrontation with China is regarded as a sacred struggle to which sacrifices must be made and which are accepted without grumbling in the sense of an imposed mission. Particularly, the question was to be examined whether the sentence coined by an eminent Japanese personality has its validity: "The West does not understand the East." There is one final barrier to this understanding that few from the West are able to overcome: the widespread ignorance of the Japanese language. Should it not be possible to overcome this last barrier, this dividing line, by reaching out across it, then the

1 Messdorf, Greater East Asia

to overcome? This goal had to prove to be the last decisive one of the trip. The positive result can already be stated here. An essential contribution was made to the understanding of the two great nations, Germany and Japan, destined to give the world a new order for peaceful progress and for the benefit of all peoples.

Problems still closely tied to Europe quickly slipped by at the beginning of the eastward journey. Two days passed in the atmosphere of such political significance, which had just weathered a severe storm victoriously through General Franco's final victory in Spain with the energetic support of Germany and Italy. Speeches by Mussolini and his foreign minister, Count Ciano, with shouts from the crowd, referring to Italy's "natural aspirations" but which the British wanted to change into "reasonable" ones, were still in the ear. The Mediterranean is not supposed to be a "mare liberum", nor a "mare clausum", but a "mare nostrum" of the Roman Empire, with its elongated peninsula resembling a mole thrown into the sea, but with a firm anchorage to the European continent. Where this mole is cut into the rock in the high Alps, there is now not a defensive but a steely friendly border, as created by the year 1938. On an earlier voyage, the western gate of this sea had been set eyes on. The imposing block of Gibraltar, but according to today's military views hardly able to withstand a systematic attack for a long time, holds the key at that entrance until one day it will be returned to its rightful owner. A few years earlier, the entrance to the northeast had appeared from the dead end of the Black Sea at the straits of the Dardanelles, where contractual arrangements from 1936 may not yet have spoken the last value about access and passage. Now the ship, the fast sailing "Gneisenau", was heading for the gate in the southeast, which the Briton did not dare to close when the Italian divisions were taken to Abyssinia to make an empire out of the kingdom. The proud British Mediterranean fleet had hoisted the imperiled Malta and sailed to Alexandria, where it lay massed with apprehension of submarine surprises. Now we swing into the British Empire's high road to the east as the ship squeezes through the bottleneck of the Suez Canal at a slow pace. We will follow it to Colombo, to Singapore, to Hong Kong, touching in between the American sphere of power of the Philippines, but not getting to know its branch to Australia, instead entering its terminus in Shanghai, which will lead us into the middle of the great China-Japan confrontation before we set foot on the Japanese islands.

An observation that was to receive its full value only later was offered in the Suez Canal. We had just greeted the returning German steamer "Halle" when a Briton glided past us. Only a few meters separated us from him, revealing that he had a prepared installation aft for the emplacement of guns, i.e. an armed merchant ship intended for an emergency. Since the main route for steamers that do not stop in the Red Sea is in the middle, there is nothing to be noticed of the shores when passing through. One senses Africa to the west and Asia to the east, and notes with admiration how Italy has succeeded in bringing its troops so far from home to fight in Abyssinia, and even farther to Italian Somaliland, where General Graziani was winning victories and effectively supporting from the south the main offensive coming from the north. In the distance, binoculars revealed the British barrier island of Perim, another buttress of the British high road to the east, while Aden, after passing the southern exit of the Red Sea, remained too far off to see its treeless coast.

Elevated temperature marks the several days' voyage through the Indian Ocean. Colombo, the great commercial port and again a British base to the east, is the next destination. On the way there, there is an opportunity to contemplate with oneself and to answer the question of which geographical point of view one should choose most appropriately when considering the events in the world in their entirety. extent. From time immemorial, the Chinese have called their empire the Middle Kingdom and their capital Beijing the center of the world. Despite the vastness of the Chinese empire, they have thus set limits to their field of vision, over which the development of world history has passed, leaving the Chinese people to slumber in stagnation. In our country, a skewed picture of the world is still often presented in schools and elsewhere by giving world maps that place the small-scale Europe, the peninsula on the European-Asian continent, in the center of the field of vision and consequently divide the largest world sea, the Pacific Ocean, into two halves. This unsuitable way of representation can be counteracted if this ocean appears undivided in its whole size. The European-Asian mass of countries

then stands in the center before the eye of the beholder, while to the left his view encompasses Africa and the Atlantic, to the right the Pacific and the American continent. Now it is still necessary to choose an own point of view as favorable as possible. This lies in the middle of the Indian Ocean, somewhat south of the equator. This geographic point of view instruction gave the Indian Ocean with on the journey.

And again and again supports and auxiliary points of the British on the way to the east: broadly deposited in hazy distance the island Sokotra, only guessed then in the north the Lakkadiven – group, in the south her counterpart the Maldives. Between the two, the journey leads straight to Colombo, the large port city on the west side of the island of Ceylon in the Indian region. Oppressive tropical sultriness camps over this ocean, which lies almost waveless under the blazing rays of the sun. Even at night, the temperature drops only a few degrees. Should this slackening calm suddenly be interrupted by a seaquake? One morning, the steamer is shaken for several seconds. The mastheads thrash out vigorously to the sides. Then the engines stop. The port propeller had lost a wing at full speed. That was the solution to the mystery. After all, it was not an everyday occurrence. Replacements are on board deep down in the hold. The replacement can only be done in the dock can be made. Colombo is fully occupied. Thus the trip must be continued somewhat wingless to Singapore, where the planned stay is extended by two days.

II

COLOMBO

Late at night the high lighthouse light of Colombo comes into view. Now under the guidance of the recorded pilot between the red and green lights of the narrow harbor entrance. Rattling, the anchors go to the bottom. Only a few hours of night are available for landing. Small is the circle of those who still expect something from a visit to the city. The trip to Kandy, which is regularly made during longer stays, is not in the program anyway. But also the planned short trip to Mount Lavinia with the Grand Hotel at the seashore has to be omitted. Under the high lamps in front of the harbor building some sleepy Singhalese are waiting with their rickshaws. They wear the many-patterned sarongs instead of leggings. The soles of their bare feet clap across the smooth asphalt of the streets, which are only moderately lit. Stunning flower scents drift from the gardens. We scurry past low houses, many of which have people sleeping on the ground or on raised racks. They have escaped the heat of their houses. Here and there inns have already opened for business, where early guests take their tea. Others prepare their morning drink at ground level by a fire. The great Buddha temple we have indicated as a destination.

At the entrance to the temple district, the Sinhalese parade out and beg for the cost of their morning drink. Until the priest who is to guide us is awakened, we have leisure to look around. It was a fantastic night. The full moon lay silvery ghostly over the forecourt, which old tree giants surround in the deep darkness. In front of the temple is a covered marble table, the purpose of which is only recognized when Singha-

read women step up to him and lay white strongly scented flowers on him as an offering. The footwear must be removed before entering the temple. The rest is disappointing. Three insignificant Buddha figures were unimpressive. The entry in the tourist book on display resulted with one rupee per person at the same time the entrance fee.

On the way back the morning dawned. Uncountable numbers of black-feathered large birds perform a deafening screaming and squawking. They must not be killed. Therefore, they populate the park and street trees by the millions. The city is now fully awake. Dwarfish oxen clatter by with their shod hooves in front of the high-wheeled carts with high arched tops. Unmotivated, the new townhouse stands in the middle of a green lawn, in a defiant governmental style that seems to mimic the

government buildings in Delhi, the British Indian capital. Sleepy still at such an early hour are the villas of Britons and locals mostly made rich by the tea business, nestled among tall palms and deep-shaded tropical trees. Near the harbor, the sweat-soaked Sinhalese are remunerated without our responding to their more lofty demands. Here, as everywhere else where the British have usurped dominion, the same phenomenon appears: a throng of natives of both sexes with a myriad of children and only a handful of the dominators themselves, who almost disappear in this mass. Where they show themselves, they display the lofty self-confidence, with the superior mien of conquerors, inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. A long row of barracks with long open verandas, such as one always finds stenciled in the Orient, line the road to the governor's palace, in front of which an Indian soldier stands guard. This square building symbolizes the still existing British power like a fortress. The marble gaze of the old Queen Victoria wanders over the park in front of it, standing out of the shade of the trees on a raised marble seat in dazzling whiteness.

SINGAPORE

The British Empire's high road now builds into an entire strategic defense system as we approach the Singapore naval base through the Straits of Malacca. The military side is immediately emphasized by two seaplanes of the naval station, which approach our steamer from the northern edge of Singapore Island, where the fortifications are located, and return to their starting point after reconnaissance has been carried out. Singapore's defense system is based backwards on the Trincomali port on the east coast of Ceylon, which has been developed into a fleet port. As the Lacadives and Maldives to the west, so now eastward Andaman and Nicobar Islands are intermediate bases off Singapore. Eastward, Hong Kong and Port Darwin at the northern tip of Australia form the forward tip of the Singapore-Hong Kong-Port Darwin strategic triangle. The traveler arriving by ship sees nothing of the British naval base. Only from a distance can one make out the high radio towers and the large hoisting crane, if one travels north through the island to the marina or over the causeway built by the British, which connects the island with the mainland by road and rail. There, very soon on the heights, is the new palace of the Crown Prince of Johore. From its windows, facing south, the fortifications, recognizable by smooth green ramps, present themselves clearly.

12 million pounds was initially approved for the Singapore expansion, but by the time it was completed it had exceeded 20 million. The official inauguration took place on February 14, 1937. The British, already weakened in their East Asian position at that time, could only come up with one monitor as permanent occupancy, while interestingly the Americans under Admiral Julius C. Townsend took part in the festivities with the cruisers "Trenton", "Milwaukee" and "Memphis".

It's fair to ask whether the huge cost of expanding Singapore will pay off in the event of an emergency, whether

the expectations placed in this "Gibraltar of the East" will be fulfilled. Among the British themselves, voices have been raised that Singapore could be plugged like a bottle. Who could be considered as an opponent? But only Japan, as could be seen from the intimate visit of the American cruisers. The British must therefore expect an attack, or a tight blockade tightened by offensive thrusts. In the north, a land threat could be made. The Malay states are only involuntary vassals of the British. Singapore also by no means blocks access to the Indian Ocean. A southern bypass is possible. London has also understood this and is not content with the naval base at Port Darwin in northern Australia, but has begun to fortify the Torres Strait between Australia and New Guinea, where Port Moresby forms a new base. The British will not be able to defend Singapore purely on the defensive. For the offensive, they lack the necessary naval forces in East Asia. These conditions have been aggravated since the British had to dismantle their position of power in China step by step, beginning with the day when, toward the end of 1927, the British flag was torn down and trampled into the dirt after Chiang Kai-shek's national army entered

Hankau. British pride received a fierce blow at that time. The British voluntarily relinquished their concession at Hankau, cleared Kiukiang down the Yangtse as well, and quietly withdrew from Shanghai with their 25,000-man expeditionary force that Austen Chamberlain had landed there as the last stir of British colonial methods in China. Recognizing this weakness, the British looked to auxiliary nations to create a fragile community of interest with France in Indochina and Holland in the Dutch Indies on the western threshold of the Pacific Ocean. The Dutch naval command in those waters provided confirmation of this when one of their chiefs declared that, in case of emergency, the Dutch naval forces would have Singapore at their disposal just as the British had their naval base at Soerabaya. Singapore's commercial port is located on the southeastern tip of the island. The passenger liners that pass through have already arrived in the

Bleyer Canal have their moorings. Unmistakable to the eye are modern fortifications with extensive barracks and gun emplacements on the offshore islands to the south. The British have realized that the naval station on the northern edge of the island is not enough. They feared the bypass from the south and placed the fortifications there on the islands.

The time gained by the change of screws benefited the observation of this Far Eastern colonial possession of the British. The spacious layout of the city with its stately buildings reflects the wealth that flowed into the British coffers after Raffles pointed out this favorable trading place. The wealth was brought by the rubber, which made million-dollar fortunes grow out of the ground. The neighborhoods of the locals, both Malay and Chinese, also exude this prosperity. One hardly sees slums. Again, the fertility of the population is surprising. Everywhere it teems with children. But here, too, the British flaunt their gentility. Because of the danger of sharks, swimming in the open sea is forbidden. The British Swimming Club therefore built a luxurious open-air pool on the raised shore, into which fresh seawater is pumped. Only white people are allowed to belong to the club or enter the bath. Colored people are prohibited from membership as well as use. There is no exception in it even for a Malay prince.

And in Singapore, too, British suzerainty is presented by a governor's palace surrounded by wide lawns with few trees, complemented by the elongated building of the officers' mess. Those who had not yet absorbed these impressions were taught about them by a special experience in the territory of the Principality of Johore. These princes have closely adapted to the habits of the British. A golf course is not to be missed. In front of the elegant clubhouse is the racecourse and the place for polo. The clubhouse hosted the Crown Prince of Johore, who had been very outspoken and bright in his palace. Here he assumes a posture. At his side, two Britons have taken their seats, gallows-faced men assigned as commissioners in Johore. In their presence, the crown prince behaves very reservedly.

The British are not the only ones with a tendency to be overconfident, while his companions show off their controlling role all too clearly. The British arrogance asserts itself unabashedly. Their impertinent questions about Germany are met with cold rejection.

IV

MANILA

In a strictly northeasterly direction, the journey continues. Zic] Manila. One enters a veritable cauldron of overlapping power interests, for now it is no longer the high road of the British Empire alone that dominates the sea and its natural bases. In the middle of it leads the way to the Japanese area. It has been emphasized often enough by official Japanese sources that Japan regards the whole area of the western Pacific as its sphere of influence and will not tolerate any interference there. But Japan came too late. When it came back under the direct imperial power in 1868, after an American squadron had already broken open the closed pearl shell by force in 1853, foreign invaders had already settled there: the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English and French, who were later joined by the Americans from the east. For seven years the Russians stood in the Japanese area on the warm sea, only to fall back to their base at

Vladivostok and from there to control the entire northern coastal strip of the Pacific Ocean via the Amur estuary to the Bering Strait. Above all, the great Chinese empire towers, which in its powerlessness had to endure incursions by the Western powers. This list alone shows, even without knowledge of past developments, what problems Japan faces if it wants to maintain its claim to dominance in the western Pacific. It has shown the world enough that it wants to do so. As an island nation, it has all the advantages and disadvantages of such a nation. With a predominantly male population, which is increasing annually in significant numbers, it has become a nation without The country has become a "land of the people", an area that can no longer extract from the barren soil of its homeland a sufficient quantity of products to feed its population and to supply its ever-growing industry. But sharply attuned to the straight line of Tennoism, the veneration of the holy person of the emperor, it was already considered a model of a nationally united state before National Socialism and Fascism ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind.

The conglomeration of intersecting power interests in the western Pacific has resulted in islands and reefs that had hitherto remained completely unnoticed suddenly acquiring the value of strategic bases and being eagerly coveted. France reached out to such scattered places west of the Philippines, which at most are found on accurate nautical charts. It took possession of the Paracel Islands east of the central east coast of Indochina. Japan, following this development with concern, occupied Pratas Island southeast of Hong Kong and gave free rein to its navy's drive for southern waters with the occupation of the Spratley Islands, about level with the southern tip of Indochina.

The Japanese claim to power primarily encounters the growth tip of the Philippines, which was taken over from the Spanish inheritance in 1898, pushed far to the west by the United States. The main island of Luzon, which we are heading for, has by nature given the island flurry an ideal harbor in Manila Bay. The narrowed entrance is protected by the wide rocky island of Corrigidor, which is fronted by the smaller lighthouse island of Caballo. Corrigidor is now considered one of the most heavily fortified places in the world. Quietly, the Americans expanded it to this end, pouring 450 million dollars into its fortifications. Only then, inside the bay, on its southern shore, does the wartime port of Cavite, with its tall radio antennas, appear in the distance. An American guard boat shoots up and leads into the spacious port of Manila, which is always heavily occupied by overseas steamers.

The Philippines is now considered an independent state, although American suzerainty is not scheduled to end until 1946. Be

If the Japanese government complains about a measure taken by the Philippine government, such as the ordered restricted immigration, Washington coolly replies that the Philippines is an independent state that can make domestic policy orders without consulting the American government. It is not primarily power-political interests that Japan associates with the question of the immigration of Japanese to the Philippines. Rather, Japan's interest is directed toward the Gulf of Davao in the south of the large southern island of Mindanao, where some 25,000 Japanese have settled. They got there in a peculiar way. When the Americans built railroads on Luzon, all the workers employed there could not tolerate the climate until Japanese were brought in. Their desire to remain there as settlers was not met, but the island of Mindanao was made available to them, where they quickly grew into a cohesive ethnic group in the Davao area.

In Manila, the rickshaw is not to be found. Two-wheeled horse-drawn carriages still often provide the traffic, as far as the car has not taken it over. The situation is similar in the city itself. Its old part still bears a purely Spanish colonial imprint with a series of ancient cathedrals, while the new parts of the city are entirely American, as are the public buildings and the very numerous universities. The Filipinos' love of freedom, which is only approaching perfect realization on an American promise, receives its visible expression in the life-size statue of the freedom hero Dr. Jose Rizal, which stands on the Luneta, the

spacious square at the harbor. The Spaniards shot this ardent patriot shortly before the end of their rule in the Philippines. How great the veneration of his person still is today is evident from the fact that one sees statues of Rizal in each of the villages, most of which are built on stilts.

Still alive, aged, is the old freedom fighter of the Filipinos, General Aguinaldo, who in a sense took the flag of freedom from the hands of the shot Rizal and fought the Spaniards with the Americans.

Realizing that with their victory only one suzerainty was to be exchanged for another without prospect of full liberty, he rose up against the new masters, who captured him but set him at liberty again when he no longer seemed dangerous to them. Now he is the champion of the complete detachment of the Philippines from American suzerainty, but not only after the trial period ended in 1946. America has already postponed the economic detachment until 1960. American naval circles are the first to want to prevent the Philippines from being abandoned. As chief of the American fleet in Asiatic waters, Commodore C. T. Hart has stated that the U.S. fleet would remain in the Far East after 1946, i.e., in the Philippines, since Cavite is the main naval base there.

These circles also nurture the fear that Japan would immediately move in on the Philippines if America were to withdraw its hand from it. The gravity of this question in the relations between Japan and America is clearly shown by a Japanese gesture when these relations assumed a special sharpness after the denunciation of the Japan-America trade treaty by America on August 26, 1939. The Japanese government did its part to soothe the tempers in Washington by officially declaring that Japan had no territorial claims on the Philippines. This declaration made no impression in Washington. The reinforcement of the American Asian fleet and the extension of American naval maneuvers westward into the Japanese area in 1940 were understandably perceived as a challenge in Japan. That the Philippines would very quickly become a prey to Japan in the event of warlike entanglements between Japan and America, that America could not seriously prevent this blow, is, however, hardly subject to doubt. Nor has it helped to improve Japanese-American relations that Washington has made known its special interest in the future of the Dutch Indies and Indochina, clearly addressed to Japan.

HONGKONG

No other place wrested from China by the Western powers bears the stamp of imperialism as much as British Hong Kong, the island with the city of Victoria, off the southern coast of China. Hong Kong is essentially different from the other acquisitions on Chinese soil. It is not leasehold territory like these, but territory annexed by England and ceded by China under duress of the guns. For the purposes envisaged by the British, it is an ideal place with a very spacious protected harbor, which also offers certain facilities for ship repairs. Today, Singapore is far superior to it with floating and dry docks for the largest ship units. However, while seaward security was largely assured, Hong Kong could be threatened from land. To eradicate this deficiency, the British took possession of Kaulun, located opposite on the mainland, in 1898. The railroad to Canton mediates the rapid connection to this great South China port besides the lively traffic on the West River. The largest overseas steamers no longer need to anchor in the open water of the extensive harbor basin, but dock at the jetty in Kaulun.

The British have managed to evade the break in fortifications for the island possessions in the Pacific Ocean, which was included in the Washington Naval Treaty, for Singapore. This statement may be surprising when one knows that Singapore is not mentioned by name in the treaty. England used a trick at that time, which she pushed through with America's consent. Article XIX of Chapter I had said, "The United States of America, the British Empire, and Japan agree that the 'status quo' at the time of the signing of the present treaty shall be maintained with respect to fortifications and naval bases in their respective territories and possessions hereinafter mentioned." Clause 1 dealt first with America. Clause 2 addressed England and read, "Hong Kong and such island possessions as the British Empire at present holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean east of the meridian of 110 degrees east longitude,

except (a) those adjacent to the coast of Canada, and (b) further, the Australian State and associated territories, and (c) New Zealand." Singapore, however, is located at 103.5 degrees east longitude, west of 110 degrees, and thus did not fall under the restriction on fortifications and naval bases, and thus did not need to be maintained at the "status quo" but could be expanded at will.

At Hong Kong, the British did not succeed in this maneuver. The extent to which they complied with the construction ban is beyond knowledge. In any case, there was no control commission responsible for the implementation of the treaty provisions. What is known is that the British began new fortifications in Hong Kong before Japan terminated the Washington Naval Treaty. A tour around the island via the fishing village of Aberdeen reveals some of these new fortifications if one looks carefully. As in Gibraltar, they are set into the rock walls. Their great shortcoming, from which the whole island suffers, is the insufficient supply of fresh water. The island tries to overcome this problem by creating reservoirs in which water from the mountains is collected during the rainy season. It is a brown broth that barely fills half of the basins.

Hong Kong shows the first clear traces of the Sino-Japanese War. In Kaulun, the gates of the Canton Railway station are closed. No train rolls over the rails. Shipping on the West River was only reopened by Japan at the end of the third year of the war as a small concession to England and America. A stream of Chinese refugees who had fled the wartime fury broke into Kaulun. They became a plague on the countryside, spent the night in the streets and squares and were run to death by cars while they slept, because there is no speed limit for motor vehicles there. There was nothing left to do but to take them to internment camps, which resemble prison camps with their guard towers at every corner. This is the paradox of foreign subsidiaries in China. The Chinese hate them and see them as an insult to their national pride. But he knows them as

It was a place of refuge in times of internal turmoil. The pneumonic plague that raged in China for a number of years before the World War stopped at the hygienically clean German leasehold area of Kiautschau. Hong Kong has always been much sought after as a refuge for fleeing Chinese politicians. In the policy of the new order in East Asia formulated by Japan, the foreign concessions. Establishments and leaseholds play a prominent role. In Japan's view, they give China a colonial character that must be eliminated. Japan and China, Japan argues, are the masters in the Far East; the Western powers are only guests. When China was granted freedom from tariffs after the Washington Conference, the foreign powers believed they had already made sufficient concessions. The abolition of extraterritorial rights and the withdrawal of foreign occupations, on the other hand, were flatly rejected. Japan hoped to achieve freedom in the East Asian region through amicable cooperation with China. When China rejected this request, Japan took up arms to show China the way of the new order in East Asia under coercion. This is the essence of the war between Japan and China. When it will be concluded in the sense of Japan, the second chapter will begin with the liberation of the Chinese soil from all foreign rights. It is against China that the Japanese weapons are now directed. Their success is to be the preliminary stage of the decolonization of China.

Hong Kong's harbor has a warlike character. Foreign steamers entering and leaving the port have the national colors painted large on the hull. The British flagship, a cruiser, has the British flag similarly made clear on its solar sail against fliers that can only be suspected from the Japanese side. Beside a high-mounted submarine mother ship lies an entire flotilla of British submarines. Suddenly, the mother ship fires a salute. It is addressed to the American fleet commander Rear Admiral Yarnell, who has arrived for a visit with the cruiser "Augusta". Was it just a gesture of courtesy? Hardly. Subsequent developments, in which America was to play the role of watchdog for Britain in the Far East, which was pinned down in Europe, suggest that this visit was very much

were based on important political agreements. Hong Kong is still an important point of world political events. But its star is in decline. In October 1938, the Japanese had made a surprise landing in Bias Bay, a notorious lair of Chinese pirates, east of Hong Kong, and advanced from there in rapid marches to conquer Canton. Up to the borders of Kaulun, the Japanese divisions advanced and completely cut off Hong Kong from the hinterland. From the sea, Hong Kong is under the surveillance of the Japanese fleet, whose officers may have sympathized with England in the past, but in recent years have swung more and more to the anti-England attitude of the Japanese army.

Hong Kong has become an isolated British place in the storm of East Asian development. The British civilian population has been evacuated to Australia. Hong Kong is now only a military place that will not escape its fate. The skyscrapers built into the clouds still stand on the Bund. Next to them are ostentatious bank palaces with ice-cold halls. The boulevard still stretches up to the Peak, where the palaces of British high officials stand. As in Singapore, the old Queen Victoria is enthroned in Hong Kong as a white marble figure on a raised base and looks out over the harbor. Only she has been given a roof over her crowned head. Here, too, the building symbolizes British world domination, which at this very spot foreshadows the approaching end. The Japanese acquiescence in the blockade of the British concession in Tientsin and the withdrawal of British garrisons in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai have undermined British prestige in East Asia. Posts once lost are not, regained in East Asia.

VI

SHANGHAI

Shanghai is not China is an easily thrown sentence, which is repeated just as easily and thoughtlessly. It has its justification only for the American-style

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House facade on the Whangpoo River. Even the concessions and settlements behind it cannot completely brush off China. In the south lies the pure Chinese town of Nantau. and Chapei in the north also has Chinese character. Above all, however, the Chinese irregulars, called bandits by the Japanese, still roam, listening to orders from Chungking, the government headquarters far to the west, to the city limits of Shanghai, even into the city itself, where many a pro-Japanese Chinese has had to lay down his life under a revolver bullet fired from ambush.

For the second time, the war between China and Japan has been carried to Shanghai. In 1932, serious fighting broke out for the first time over the northern suburb of Chapei. It was convenient for the Japanese at that time that they could be ended by an armistice in May. The Chinese had agreed not to maintain active troops within a certain radius of Shanghai. An incident at the Chinese military airfield on the night of August 8-9, 1937, triggered the second battle for Chapei, when Japanese naval officer Oyama and the driver of his car, naval officer Saito, lay dead on the ground after a clash with Chinese police. Chapei had not yet been built up from the first raining of bullets and bombs when the shells again put luke-ken in the rows of houses, knocking down whole blocks. The fighting was heavy and bloody until, after weeks, the bravely defended Woosungforts surrendered and, after hard fighting near the village of Kiangwan, the Chinese divisions began their retreat. Nothing is rebuilt. Weeds proliferate in the rubble. No house is left whole. Residents are not allowed to enter their torn houses. The whole battle area is a forbidden zone. Only the northern railroad station has been provisionally restored in order to get the rail link to Nanking going again for Japanese military purposes. From an initial small skirmish of landed Japanese marines the big battle broke out. The Japanese had to bring in stronger and stronger forces from their home islands. Finally, three active and one reserve division stood the heavy fight, where in the rice fields the heavy guns sank and the armored cars could not advance. Japan did not want this extension of the war into Central China. When it inevitably developed of its own accord, it staked its national honor on continuing the fight until it was decided. Thus the Central China Front was

added to the Northern Front in the Peking-Tientsin area and to the south, and later the Southern Front with the conquest of Canton and the advances to the Chinese lines of communication to Indochina and British Burma. In Shantung Province there was hot fighting, for months, until fresh divisions from Shanghai and Manchuria brought the fortunes of war to the Japanese side. Han-kau fell shortly after Canton. Over 4500 kilometers the Japanese front stretches deep into China, not in contiguous line, but with advanced peaks, between which lies no man's land, where no Chinese peasant ever set eyes on a Japanese soldier. In addition, there is another front high in the north, where the elongated Manchurian frontier against the Soviet Far East must be kept sharply in view for 2400 kilometers. The battle for Chapei has claimed great casualties on both sides. If the Japanese still needed a proof of how disruptive the foreign settlements proved to be in military terms as well, - Chapei has provided it. With regard to this settlement, to which Chapei refers, the Japanese attack had to be conducted along its border, and it brought much higher losses to the Japanese than if they had been free in their decisions. This view was expressed by the Japanese commander-in-chief himself, General Matsui, the victor of Shanghai and Nanking. And he was right.

The Tenno, Japan's Emperor, is the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. At times of warlike involvement, the Imperial Headquarters is assembled in the imperial capital, from which the directives for operations emanate. This was the case in the war against China in 1894, in the war against Russia in 1904, and at the turn of the year 1937/38, when the war against China spilled over into unintended large-scale proportions. From Mongolia in the north to the shores of the China Sea in the south, the Japanese fronts stretched. A division into three resulted

inevitably split into north, center and south. The joint supreme command in the closest possible proximity to events, that is, on the Chinese mainland itself, was an imperative to reconcile the three fronts. It was not until the beginning of the third year of the war that this step was taken abundantly late, when the political necessity imposed itself more and more on ending the war with China soon, in order to free the hands for other questions which might necessitate military action. Here we see a characteristic of the Japanese that can be encountered in other areas as well. They run after events even when they have correctly anticipated their occurrence.

In small-scale Europe, one has had to get used to far-stretched military fronts. The Far East, which even in peaceful times requires the observer to recognize the great expanses in order to understand things, poses even greater puzzles in military operations at even greater distances. Measured as the crow flies, the distance Yokohama-Tientsin is 2400 kilometers, Yokohama-Shanghai 2100 kilometers, Yokohama-Canton 3500 kilometers. These lines lead to the three main fronts, but initially only to the sea unloading points. The battle fronts are still many kilometers inland, from Shanghai to Hankau as the crow flies 840 kilometers. For no front can transport by sea be avoided; for the northern front, the overland route via Korea and Manchuria can be inserted as a supplement. Not only the fighting soldier must be brought to the battle fronts by sea, but also everything he needs in terms of food, clothing and equipment. Only when one realizes this will one get a concept of how Japan experiences war in the field. Supplies and replacements, wound transport and care are added.

Japan has always been very well informed about the events in China. With the creation of the National Government in Nanking, an internal reconstruction had begun that aimed to restore unity, order and strength to a country that had been shattered in constant general struggles since the Chinese Revolution. Chiang Kai-shek increasingly stood out as a determined personality with a strong character. With concern one followed in

Japan his efforts to restore the Chinese empire's prestige and recognition in the world through a strong army, the training of which was successfully placed in the hands of foreign military advisors, through order in the financial system and the systematic development of the economy. His internal opponents

were crushed by him by force. The communist armies, which had already set about establishing a Soviet state, were driven by him into the northwest corner of the empire in years of fighting. His capture by the young Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, who had utterly failed in the defense of Manchuria against the Japanese, was the last and most unworthy movement that a general under his command could be guilty of. The Japanese attempts to reach a settlement with China in a peaceful way failed again and again because of the Japanese demands. Since Chiang Kai-shek himself had enjoyed his military training in Japan, he must have been aware of the opponent he would have before him if Japan should try to enforce its demands with stronger means.

When the conflict broke out in July 1937, the Japanese may have been deceived about the strength China had acquired in less than ten years. Perhaps the relatively easy conquest of Manchuria contributed to this, where only General Ma Chan-shan proved to be a capable commander in the battles at the Nonni River. Nor did the expectation hold true that ambitious Chinese generals would exploit the conflict with Japan to push through their own plans. As recently as a year before the outbreak of the conflict, Chiang Kai-shek had forced the recalcitrant generals of Kwangsi and Kwangtung into submission, only by threatening to use his military might. The heavy fighting in Chapei was a proof of the gained military strength of the Chinese divisions, although their elite had been spared in the process. The Japanese encountered the strongest resistance at Hsüchoufu in Shantung. China countered the modernly equipped Japanese army with masses of men and the will not to be defeated.

The vastness of the Chinese terrain allowed evasion to the remotest provinces in the west after Canton and four days later Hankau were surprisingly quickly occupied by the Japanese. Chungking on the upper reaches of the Yangtze became the new government headquarters. From the beginning, the Japanese navy faced no equal opponent. The only new cruiser built in Japan was taken and transferred to the fleet of its country of origin. The remaining obsolete Chinese warships were doomed to destruction. During the course of the war, the Japanese navy earned great merit in the many landing maneuvers in which the Japanese Wehrmacht proved to be a master. In this way, all Chinese ports of importance were occupied by the Japanese in the course of the first three years of the war. The supply to China by sea was made impossible. But still small hiding places appeared on the coast where Chinese vessels could dock and force Japan to engage in small-scale warfare at sea. In the second year of the war, the Japanese occupied the large island to the south, Hainan, which took a long time to conquer completely. West of Hong Kong, the Japanese advanced from the port of Pakhoi to the Indochinese border and, by advancing into the interior, blocked the supply road from Tongking to Chungking.

The Chinese did well in defense, also taking offensive actions when the opportunity was favorable. In general, they followed the tactics of "scorched earth", destroying everything that could benefit the enemy during their retrograde movements. With the long duration of the war, mutual losses have been substantial. The Chinese admitted 300,000 men at the end of 1938. Official figures are available from the Japanese side, announced by the War Ministry for the period up to the end of June 1940. According to these figures, Japanese losses were said to have amounted to 85,000 men. The Japanese published the following figures for the Chinese: 1,587,000 killed and found on the battlefields, but an estimated total of 3 million including the wounded, missing, deserted and defected. The booty taken by the Japanese is not very great. The Chinese have always proved to be masters of retreat, finding a hole in the net laid around them even in difficult situations. They have not suffered really crushing blows.

Since February 1940, major acts of war on the part of the Japanese have ceased. The war against Chiang Kai-shek is considered militarily over and the government in Chungking is regarded only as a provincial government. It is hoped that Chungking will give up further resistance and seeks to emphasize this expectation by heavy aerial bombardment of Chungking. Surprisingly, the Japanese fighter and bomb squadrons were still opposed by Chinese aircraft eager to fight.

Inevitably, the Japanese had to set up administrations in the areas they occupied. These were at first purely military in nature and were under the control of the Department of Chinese Affairs in the War Ministry in Tokyo. Very soon a move was made to enlist Chinese statesmen who were willing to raise Chinese administrative bodies under Japanese control. The assumption of such offices is fraught with mortal danger, because those concerned have to fear the revolver bullet of ordered assassins at every turn and have often had to forfeit their lives in this way. The organs in Beijing and Nanking, which Chungking's supporters called puppet governments, came into being. In creating a central authority from these two government bodies, the Japanese proceeded very cautiously and first plowed through months of negotiations before agreeing to Wang Ching-wei taking over the government authority, who finally took office in Nanking on May 30, 1940. Wang's name and personality at least meant something in China, even if he was called a traitor by Chungking. He was a close friend of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese Revolution, and later became prime minister alongside Chiang Kai-shek when the latter took office as generalissimo. The new government in Nanking can only live under the protection of the Japanese bayonets, it is quite clear about that itself. Japan hopes that the situation will change in favor of the newly created government.

The government must ensure that further defections of Chinese personalities from the Chungking camp take place, as has already happened several times on a small scale. So far, Chiang Kai-shek himself has remained firm.

VII

TOKIO

The fast steamer covers the Shanghai-Yokohama route in two and a half days. In favorable seas, its engines receive additional thrust, so that arriving several hours too early may cause the reception ceremony to fall through. It is considered a good omen when, at the same time as the broad volcanic island of Oshima accompanies the voyage for a long time to starboard, the sacred mountain Fuji – today the Japanese write Huzi – appears in full beauty to port. Since there are only low mountain ranges in front of it, it can show itself in all its majesty, in April still adorned with a hood of snow, around which a light wreath of clouds is laid. It is even more favorable when the mountain greets the sea as a farewell. Then it was not a farewell forever. One can firmly count on a return. The crossing from the mainland, especially when it takes place in somewhat stormy seas, once again confirms the difficulties that even nature poses to military transports to the China front. It is not an excessively heavy burden for the army fighting far inside China, but it is a point of view that should be taken into account.

For the Japanese officer who goes into the field with the inherited samurai sword, it does not matter where the emperor's order calls him. The moment he receives the order to march, his thoughts are detached from home and family. All orders come from the emperor and are therefore carried out with fanatical zeal. At any rate, this is how the commander of a fighter flying school explained the daredevil grit of his officers – his children, as he called them – because even in squadron flying, every order from the commander is seen as coming from the emperor and is carried out. The family left behind is proud of the son and husband who is allowed to dedicate his life for the emperor. The young wife of a lieutenant who moved to the Manchurian front committed seppoku – hara-kiri – after his departure and previously informed her husband of this intention by letter, so that he would not be distracted from his duties to the emperor and the fatherland by thoughts of his wife and home.

The Japanese are to be envied for the possession of their sacred Mount Fuji. No other country has such a moving symbol that accompanies every Japanese throughout his or her life. Young and old, men and women, consider it a sacred duty to have climbed its peak at least once in their lives. Poets sing of it again and again in their four-line art poems. Painters like to put it in the background of their scroll paintings. On embroideries and precious weavings the mountain appears in bright colors, most

gracefully in deep blue with a snow-white peak. Dressed up with the bright colors of the cherry blossom, which atones for its beauty with fruitlessness, the first spring is the most delightful time for every Japanese. By the end of April, the feathery petals have already blown away, at least in the plains. Then one must go up into the mountains, to the magnificent Hakone, over whose elongated lake Mount Fuji towers.

It is in this atmosphere that the exuberant descriptions of the fairy-tale country of Japan arise, which often overshoot the mark by far. The Japanese are not at all the secretive people they are often made out to be. In fact, he is very much in the mood for humor and is much more correctly understood when he is seen in his sobriety with a view to the realities of life. Every season has its floral magic in Japan, where women walk around very conservatively and preferably in their colorful kimonos. In Europe, it was only relatively late that the idea of bringing the native costumes back to honor was born. The man in Japan likes to exchange the comfortable house kimono for the European one when coming home. Clothing preferred in the workplace today. It is an old custom that the wife presents the comfortable house dress to the returning husband with a certain ceremonial. Thus, there are still many things that seem strange to Europeans at first, but want to be understood from tradition and are soon taken for granted.

On September 1, 1923, Japan was struck by the terrible earthquake that tends to occur in such devastation only at long intervals. Yokohama and Tokyo were severely affected. Even more severe than the quake itself were the subsequent conflagrations, which in Tokyo in particular caused the maddened crowd to rush to the banks of the Sumida River, where the front ranks were chased into the water by the thousands who followed. That is why the shrine of remembrance of those terrible hours has been placed close to the river bank. With great energy and willingness to make sacrifices, the destroyed parts of the city were rebuilt in a short time. These are the modern quarters of the city, which look so American with their bank and industrial palaces, skyscrapers that did not have the ambition to become skyscrapers after all. The center of the city is dominated by the Imperial Palace, the castle of the last Shogun of the Tokugawa dynasty, well-guarded behind five wide moats and protected by high ashlar walls. With the exception of a few summer months, this palace is the permanent residence of the imperial family. It is here that the decisions of the government receive their sanction, it is here that the last word is spoken about the change of cabinets, it is here that the decision about war and peace is made, and it is here that the orders go to the troops in the field. Around the palace revolves Tennoism, the veneration of the holy person of the emperor, which compels the Japanese to follow the Kodo, the imperial way. It is only in Japan itself that one can fully understand this life-cord of every Japanese, which is closely linked to the person of the emperor, this inner feeling that always rekindles his national pride and national unity. In wartime, this attitude of the Japanese was further strengthened, and special credit must be given to the former Minister of War, Araki, when he was later Minister of Education in the Hiranuma Cabinet. He saw to it that tenno-ism was firmly implanted even in Japanese youth. The Imperial Palace in Tokyo is a sacred district. The inner buildings, which are said to be built in the old Japanese style with crossed wooden beams on the ridges of the roofs, as still found in the temples of the Ise shrine, are only visible to the eyes of a few. Only the small castle-like buildings set on the corners of the outer enclosing wall open up to the view. It is a matter of course that every Japanese, when passing the main access bridge, tips his hat or salutes towards the palace, just as every battle won is celebrated by shouting Banzai and looking in the direction of the palace. The soldier begins his daily duty with a deep bow to the imperial palace, and the schoolchildren do the same before the start of classes. Unforgettable minutes are for every Japanese when the emperor appears on his body horse "White Snow" in the gate of the palace in front of the waiting crowd, as it was the case after the capture of Han-kau on October 25, 1938.

The seclusion of the imperial palace received a jolt when the nearby new parliament building with its massive tower was completed in 1936 after 19 years of construction. This tower towers over the imperial palace, and from its very top, which has been converted into a fire station, one can get a glimpse of the palace grounds. How the Japanese feel about it is evident from the fact that a multi-storey building opposite the imperial palace, intended as a hotel, was given a different purpose because it was considered unacceptable for hotel guests to be able to look into the palace precinct from an elevated position. One still remembers the diplomatic incident when the German Zeppelin airship flew over the Imperial Palace on its trip around the world because its leaders were unaware of this attitude of the Japanese. In the new parliament building, which is probably the most representative of Tokyo, indeed perhaps of the whole Far East, and which is made only of Japanese material was built, both houses of parliament, the Mansion House and the House of Representatives, meet under one roof. Japan adopted the Prussian constitution on the advice of Prince Bismarck when he received Prince Ito's visit. A constitutional monarchy on a parliamentary basis was established. This was believed to be the best way to document Japan's entry into the world as a player in the concert of powers after the elimination of the Schogunate rule. The dress Japan has put on suits it poorly. Especially in the Orient, where strong individual personalities must hold the reins of government tightly in their hands, the European-American party system had little place. Real democracy, in which the prime minister is taken from the parties, was not achieved until late, after the world war, when Hara was entrusted with this office by the emperor. In November 1921, he fell under the dagger thrust of an assassin at the main train station in Tokyo. The last parliamentary prime minister was Inukai. He met a similar fate when he was gunned down in his home in the spring of 1932. Later prime ministers were no longer selected on parliamentary lines. On the advice of the last survivor of the Genro, the Council of Elder Statesmen, Prince Saionji, a man of statesmanlike qualities was chosen without regard to party, through the mediation of the Lord Privy Seal Yuasa, who was succeeded in office by the former Minister of the Interior, Kido.

Japan has only short-lived cabinets. Being in office for one year is considered an exception. Most overthrows are due to dissatisfaction with the government's actions in foreign policy, but domestic issues can also be the cause. And every time there is a cabinet change, there is a call for the strong man, which was strengthened considerably during the war with China. Just here, where stability in government and administration would be urgently desired, one cabinet has followed another in quick succession. In the first three years of the war, the cabinet changed no fewer than four times. Prince Konoye led the country into war and remained at the head of the government for a relatively long time from June 1937 to January 1939. He was succeeded by Hiranuma, on whom special hopes were placed as leader of the radical nationalists. At over 70 years of age, he was probably no longer agile enough. After a few months, he was replaced by General Abe, who in turn was replaced by Admiral Yonai, until Prince Konoye was resigned for the second time in July 1940. Of importance, in addition to the prime minister, is the foreign minister, and in times of war, the post of minister of finance and economics also requires particularly careful selection. Several times Arita filled the foreign post. Konoye brought into his second cabinet a new man, Matsuoka, who had come out of diplomacy. He was the leader of the Japanese delegation to Geneva when Japan left the League of Nations, and from 1936 to 1939 he handled the difficult tasks as president of the South Manchurian Railroad that came to this great enterprise in connection with the war in China.

A weighty word in cabinet changes is spoken by the military, which after the World War increasingly determines the paths of domestic and foreign policy. Even if a cabinet is already fixed, the military can veto it by refusing to fill the post of war minister. Only the emperor's decree can remove this veto. It is not unusual for the Minister of War to leave his official residence and go to the Prime Minister to

discuss foreign policy issues with him and to make certain demands of the Wehrmacht about the conduct of foreign policy. However, the position of the Minister of War and his colleague, the Minister of the Navy, in the Cabinet is a special one. Only active generals and admirals are eligible for it. They are not responsible to Parliament and have the prerogative of intermediation with the emperor. Incidentally, there is a certain tendency in the Wehrmacht to politicize, which has already had nasty consequences. Younger officers believed that they had to take action when negotiations did not lead to success. The assassination of Prime Minister Inukai in May 1932 was a case in point, while the great officers' coup of February 26, 1936, was even more threatening to domestic peace.

]Not only Admiral Saito, who was over 70 years old, the Lord Privy Seal, fell under the shots of the coup plotters, but also General Watanabe, the chief of military education, and Takahashi, the former finance minister and prime minister, who was over 80 years old. After these incidents, very severe action was taken against the assassins, even though, as they expressed in an appeal, their actions were intended to restore justice in the state and ensure the continuation of the imperial form of government. Among the Japanese people, there is no condemnation of their deeds, which sprang from an exaggerated sense of nationalism. However, they have not yet been made national heroes like the 47 ronin who bloodily avenged the death of their master on his adversary and had to commit seppuku altogether as a result. One should not miss to visit the burial place of these 47 samurai in Tokyo. Already from the constantly streaming visitors from all classes one can do a deep insight into the Japanese mental and emotional life. Many things from the programs of National Socialism and Fascism that seemed worth transplanting to the Japanese have already been brought over to them, such as youth education in the ideological sense and the military training of young people. Since people themselves came to the conclusion that the previous form of government, with its strong emphasis on the party system, was unsuitable for Japan, the agitation for the abolition of the parties and the formation of a national unity party gained more and more ground. It was not easy to dethrone the parties, especially the two major parties of the Seiyukai and the Minseito. The issue came into quicker flow when Prince Konoye placed himself at the head of the movement during his first premiership. His resignation was mainly due to the fact that his plans met with too tough resistance. The time was not yet ripe. As president of the Privy Council of State, he resumed his plan, indeed, he resigned the presidency of this high body in order to devote himself with full energy and independence to his favorite idea. Then, in July 1940, the fall of the Yonai Cabinet occurred, and again the call went out to Konoye. He had prepared so well that he could soon see the dissolution of the parties – the Minseito remained the most stubborn. On July 22, 1940, Prince Konoye had formed his second cabinet. He immediately resumed his domestic reform plans and himself assumed the presidency of the organization that was to give Japan a new national structure. This marks the beginning of a new era in Japan's history, one that is expected to be very promising in many circles. At the same time, Japan's foreign policy took on a new direction.

Explicitly, Japanese foreign policy focused on settling the conflict with China. The longer the war lasted, the more urgently this demand was made. In Japan, the beginning of the fourth year of the war was celebrated in a dignified and serious manner, without any ceremonies... From Chungking came a personal message from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, which concluded: "Resistance will not cease until the enemy completely renounces his policy of aggression and withdraws his armies from our soil." There are great gaps here, and it is impossible to see how they can be bridged. But whence, it must be asked, comes this hatred of the two peoples, which the Japanese, after repeated declarations on behalf of their people, reject towards China? Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who died in Peking in the spring of 1925 while trying to win northern China for his plans of building a national China, answered this question, put to him by a Japanese professor in Canton, as follows: China has been insulted by the white powers and by Japan. The

former count among its friends, the latter is its brother. Disputes may arise between friends. No hatred need arise from it. A serious quarrel between brothers, on the contrary, generates indelible hatred. This fratricidal hatred dates not only from the time of the present war, nor from the time when Japan occupied Manchuria. Its beginning can be placed in 1915, when Japan, taking advantage of the favorable economic situation during the World War, presented those 21 demands in Peking in January 1915. The ultimatum of May 7, 1915, forced their acceptance. Since then, this May 7 has become a national day of mourning in China

and is celebrated as such every year. After the World War, Japan continued its activities in China through other means by supporting the Anfu Club in Beijing. The great earthquake of September 1, 1923, and the general economic crisis that also affected Japan pushed the China-related plans somewhat into the background. Then the slogan of positive policy toward China emerged. This happened during the time of Prime Minister Baron Tanaka, to whom the China Memorandum of July 25, 1927, with its world conquest plans is attributed. The Japanese have always denied its authenticity. After all, it was then that the increased activity of the Japanese military began, while the Japanese statesmen tried to balance with China on the basis of demands to China, the number of which varied from three to ten and more points. In China, the 21 demands of 1915 were still too well remembered. It constantly refused, even once refusing to agree to an ambassador presented by Japan, at that time still an envoy. The Japanese military did not look at this skirmish any longer. The Mukden incident on September 18, 1931, gave rise to the advance in arms. China resisted only with paper protests and threw its weight behind the League of Nations, which could not help it either with the report of the Lytton Commission sent to Manchuria. The way was opened for Japan to break away from Geneva and to throw off these shackles after its unanimous condemnation, from which only Siam abstained.

The gates to a Sino-Japanese settlement, to an understanding, into which Japan had seriously forbidden itself to interfere, were now more shrouded than ever. Until Japan released Manchuria again, China did not want to hear anything about negotiations. Japan, however, made Manchuria into the Manchutikuo Empire and placed the last scion of the Manchu dynasty, which had been deposed from the Chinese throne in 1912, on the new imperial throne in Hsinking, the new capital of Manchuria. The incident at Lukouchiao and the subsequent skirmish at Marco Polo Bridge paved the way to northern China. At the time, Tokyo spoke only of a union

Manila:

In the new district

Shanghai:

Business Street

Japan and Manchukuo with the five northern provinces of China. The push to Inner Mongolia via Kalgan to the northern bend of the Hoangho brought Inner Mongolia, led by Prince Yun, to the side of this combination. In late 1937, Japan showed itself inclined to peace negotiations with China. To deliver the Japanese proposals, the German government made its ambassador to China available, without therefore assuming the role of mediator. The negotiations failed.

The aggravation of the state of war and the expansion of the fronts that occurred after the Shanghai incident gave the conflict a face not intended by the Japanese statesmen. It was only at that time that China withdrew its ambassador from Tokyo, who until then had still been in office there. The Japanese armed forces could not now agree to a cessation of fighting. As it does not know retreat on the battlefield, so also not in the field of diplomacy. It may well be possible to evade the issue once, as was the case with the cease-fire after the first Chapei fighting in 1932. But the thread will be taken up again at a more appropriate time.

The Japanese government, urged from many quarters to announce the aims of its China policy, complied with this request on November 5, 1938, on the high of the occupations of Canton and Hankau in the previous October. The Cabinet approved a three-point formula, which was published as the Konoye Memorandum on December 22, 1938. The three points said: friendly-neighborly relations, economic cooperation between Japan, China and Manchukuo, and struggle against communism. The publication did not have any effect on China. After Konoye's first cabinet, the Hiranuma, Abe and Yonai cabinets also adopted this objective and returned it to Konoye's hands when he formed his second cabinet. The Wehrmacht used the period of diplomatic stalemate to tighten the ring around the Chungking government. The difficult situation of France and England in the European war could be exploited to cut off Chiang Kai-shek from his access roads from these countries.

over Indochina and Burma. While Konoye may still not be the strong man Japan craves, he has at his side two men in his Foreign Minister Matsuoka and his War Minister Tojo, whom they have nicknamed the "razor" in Japan, who are said to have taken the German lightning campaign as a guide for Japanese foreign policy.

The general desire in Japan to quickly put an end to the China conflict is due not least to the fact that, over the years, the burden imposed by the war has become quite heavy in many areas of governmental and civic life. In the country itself, the superficial observer did not notice too much of this as late as the second year of the war. Since then, the restrictions in various spheres of life have increased. Very important is the failure of the crops, which, however, left much to be desired in the third year of the war, mainly because of the general drought. Otherwise, Japan can proudly point out that it is able to feed its population entirely from the land and from its overseas sources of aid. The modest lifestyle of the Japanese has a particularly advantageous effect in this respect. Financially, Japan is dependent on itself. It cannot count on any outside support. It is therefore imperative to increase exports by promoting foreign trade and to achieve an export surplus. However, 1939 showed an export deficit of 416 million yen. The financial collapse that had already been predicted for this year did not occur. Japanese industry is still strong enough to absorb the bonds of government bonds. But there is a lack of capital for the

reconstruction plans in Manchuria and northern China, on which so many hopes had been placed. The national debt is rising rapidly from year to year, and the time is long past when a national budget of 2.3 billion yen was marveled at.

Today, the Japanese economy is still structured according to liberalist methods. However, for the wartime economy, the need arose for total economic control by the state on the basis of a multi-year economic plan.

However, the large economic bodies are still too strong for their opposition to this new economic management to be quickly broken. They were also forced to switch to exchange control, even taking a very rigorous approach overnight, but they shied away from drastic means to catch those who violated the regulations. The situation is no different in production and price control, where many loopholes remain open. The foreign importer, however, is subject to very narrow limits. He is expected not to think unilaterally about his own business and earnings, but to adapt his business practices to Japanese wartime needs. In addition, there is a shortage of raw materials, which is magnified by politically imposed export bans by the United States of America. Severe shortages were evident in the coal industry, both in production and transportation. Charcoal became almost a luxury item, although it is indispensable for domestic heating. Finally, 250 members of parliament took the unusual measure in Japan of demanding the resignation of the Abe cabinet because of these shortcomings. Only reluctantly did the general comply with this demand, in order to make room again for an interim cabinet of Admiral Yonai. But it was precisely this cabinet that carried out the project set in motion by its predecessor of bringing the China conflict close to a conclusion through a Chinese government obedient to Japanese wishes, by installing the Wang Ching-wei government in Nanking. A piquant move by Yonai is that he appointed his predecessor, General Abe, as special envoy to negotiate with Wang Ching-wei to conclude an alliance.

Japan has put its East Asian continental plans into a special conception, which has been given the slogan of the new order. There is also talk of the creation of Greater Asia, and as early as 1939 in Osaka, Japan, Manchukuo, North China and Inner Mongolia were united in an exhibition called Greater Asia, organized by the newspaper Osaka Mainichi. What is behind this new order? The answer to the riddle was given on the occasion of an official invitation by the then head of the Information Office in the Foreign Office

Office, Ministerial Director Kawai, when he put forward Japan's call for the creation of "regional autonomies" and expressed the conviction that under such a system the world would progress along the path of progress, welfare and friendship, eventually reaching the perpetual state of peace where the world is but one home.

This line of thought leads into the realm of world politics and what position Japan occupies in it. This will be discussed later. Here it requires first an important reference, if one wants to understand Japan correctly. The idea of mission has been appearing everywhere in Japan for not too long. People feel called to a certain path of destiny and are determined to follow it. First and foremost, it is the army that has raised the missionary idea on its shield. Thus, the former Minister of War and later Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Front in China, Colonel General Sugiyama, made the statement before a gathering of 600 senior officers, including princes and division commanders, "The mission of the soldier is becoming more and more important, for the army is the central forward force, necessary for the nation's existence, to master the difficult situation. It is the pioneer of Japan's new destiny." In cultural terms, the missionary idea is extended beyond Japan when Minister of Culture Araki declared, "The divine path made clear by Japan is the path the whole world has to follow." Of course, there is something right in saying of Japan that it is particularly adept at imitating what other peoples have given to themselves and to the world. It is only forgotten that Japan entered the circle of nations only in 1868.

Should it now, in the same methodical way, appropriate everything that other nations had developed in centuries? It quickly seized the already existing achievements in the field of civilization in order to prove to the world today that it can be creative itself in various fields, such as technology and medicine.

Today, it has largely caught up with the lead that other nations had before it.

Officially, Japan's mission to the world was announced by Prime Minister Hirota in his speech in the House of Representatives on January 21, 1936. "We have succeeded in building up our own power and national prestige by adapting our civilization to the arts and sciences of the Occident. It would now be time to try to introduce our arts and culture to other countries, thus contributing to international cooperation, to the enrichment of world civilization, to the establishment of world peace and to the happiness of mankind." Here the emphasis is on the word "adapt." Japan has not allowed itself to be captured by the culture of the Occident. It has taken from there only what seemed to it adaptable while maintaining its own cultural goods. Therefore, the way to understanding today's Japan is through ancient Japan, as we can observe it in its cultural achievements. There are even more radical views than the one proclaimed by Hirota, as when Yosuke Matsuoka declared in Geneva: "We have followed the West too far in material thinking. Now we have turned to our own way. In East Asia, we know. We won't be talked out of it." This point of view was adopted in a certain sense by an important figure of the Occident, Mussolini, when he said: "It is certain that Japan is changing the map of East Asia, and that those who believed the contrary had set wrong."

Culture and religion cannot be separated in Japan. No Japanese denies that Japan has been influenced to a considerable extent by Chinese culture. It has incorporated valuable cultural goods from there into its own culture. In Japan, archaeology is still a little-used science. There has been little systematic excavation, and it has been limited mainly to accidental finds. It is certain, however, that even before the invasion of the Chinese culture there was an original Japanese culture. The holiest of all Shinto shrines, those of Ise, bear witness to this. As overwhelming as the Buddhist temples with their colossal figures in Kamakura and Nara may be in many cases, the right emotion in front of something sublime also appears to the foreigner.

the shinto shrines with their so simple, but all the more impressive ceremonies. Perhaps it is the hidden, the not with the eye graspable, which causes this impression. There one pays homage to the ancestors, enters into spiritual contact with them and is anxious to prove oneself worthy of them. The emperor goes to Ise, the new cabinet members go, the soldiers go before they leave for the front. Hardly less significant is the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo, to pay homage to the founder of the new Japan.

The Japanese do not want to be called a nation of warriors, because this could be associated with the notion of belligerence. And yet it is the samurai spirit, the spirit of the old knights, that has made Japan what it is today: a great and world power, but one that still has to fight for its ultimate recognition in the world. For the Japanese soldier, one place is considered a special shrine, where he bows to those who have fallen for the emperor and the fatherland: the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. There, the ashes of the fallen are placed in white wooden urns in solemn ceremony. Food is laid down for them, and they become not only heroes, but sons of gods. As is often the case, an old general is the highest priest there, who offers a welcome drink to foreign guests who come to the shrine. The regiments marching to the front march in closed formations in front of the shrine. Officers bow before the shrine in reverence. The elder may then step forward and say to the souls of the fallen, "At Yasukuni Shrine, we will meet again!"

If you drive out into the countryside and leave behind the big city with its many misleading impressions that obscure the real core of the Japanese people, you soon become aware of how closely Japanese culture is connected with nature, how culture and nature flow into each other in many ways. The storm-torn spruce on the mountain top finds its replica in the Japanese house and garden in the often

bizarre, but nevertheless so charming dwarf trees. The genuine Japanese house is only a light roof against the inclemency of the weather. With its light construction, its movable walls and the light flooding in from all sides, it should not disturb the connection of man with nature, his life in it. The colorful kimonos of the women are borrowed from the rich blossom blessing of the land and only come into their own ■when their wearers move among the flowering perennials. Culture radiates from the venerable tea ceremony. Culture and art unite in the difficult-to-learn art of flower binding. Culture lies in Japanese food, in the daintiness of how it is served and often prepared at the table itself. The highest culture is conveyed by the old Japanese theater, the Kabuki, and even more so by the No-Theater, which even many Japanese today no longer quite understand, where the masks worn by the main actors seem to take on living features if one follows the play attentively.

Perhaps the Japanese farmer is the most conservative person in the country. Like fathers and forefathers, he painstakingly works the usually sparse soil, standing up to his knees in the mud of the rice fields or harvesting the grain with a sickle by walking along the furrows. Traditional is his dress with the dark blue skirt and the white letters on the back. Women pick mulberry leaves from low bushes as food for the silkworms, pluck tea leaves from globular tea plants or harvest oranges, tangerines and apples from the carefully tended orchards.

Japan is a peasant country. It is from there that it draws its strength again and again, from there that the young people come who are employed in the Wehrmacht for the greatness of the Reich and who, as the campaign in China has shown, have excelled there under the most difficult conditions, in rough mountainous regions, in summer heat and winter cold and in rugged mountains. In addition, there is a steeply growing industry, which, with few exceptions, knows how to give the country everything it needs. Large ironworks cover the demand for objects of daily life, for state and private buildings, even if the machines and the work processes are still often borrowed from abroad, especially from Germany. In shipbuilding, Japan has long since become independent. Every year, its private shipyards produce new steamships for the major shipping companies that are on a par with the ships of old.

seafaring nations can compete with each other in every respect. However, they stick to medium sizes and do not join the race of oversized passenger ships. The navy is also completely self-sufficient. The Japanese fleet is a power factor that commands respect in the world. The crews represent an elite force, composed only of volunteers, and proudly echo the achievements of the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo in the Russo-Japanese War. The Day of the Naval Battle of Tsushima is the Navy's day of honor each year. At the naval school in Etasima, the naval cadets and midshipmen are prepared for their profession in rough school like the army cadets in the war school in Tokyo. Steeled in sports, the old customs of wielding the samurai sword and bow are not neglected by the young soldiers. The female youth is not inferior in this. The rich sporting activity, which has shown excellent performance at international meetings, has increased the height of the body. Women have come out of their seclusion. National women's organizations parade in closed formations to the country's sacred sites. Their women leaders are seen performing in halls and in the open air, making cheering speeches to the people to emulate the virtues of the ancestors and to cultivate the national spirit as required by the Kodo, the Imperial Way.

Japan's burden of war with China is, of course, great. No Japanese will deny this. The Japanese have resorted to their procedure, already practiced in the two previous wars, of maintaining a special war budget in addition to the ordinary budget. Japan could not count on financial aid from outside. Those countries that were eligible for financial support, England and America, gave their millions to the Chinese. Japan also had to make shipments to the outside world from its gold hoard, which had declined to 300 million, to pay for its imports. To give just one figure that gives some idea of the financial strain, consider the fiscal year 1937, in which the first year of the war fell. Total expenditures amounted to 4.6

billion yen, i.e., slightly more than seven times the total expenditures of 1914. There was no way to avoid tax increases, although the greatest caution was exercised in this area, since the burdens on individual citizens were already high. If export surpluses were achieved in some months of the third year of the war, it should not be assumed that this marked the beginning of a golden age, as in the years of the world war from 1915 to 1918. These export surpluses were achieved by curbing imports, if not by foreign export bans that feigned an improvement in export trade. In contrast, Japan is one of the gold-producing countries, although it is unlikely to be a leader in this. The gold comes mainly from Korea and from Manchuria, there mainly from the Amur arc, where the solons, who are on the verge of extinction, live.

The Japanese government, despite strong opposition, has had a mobilization law passed by the Diet that allows it to intervene in public life as it sees fit. In 1939, it made use of Article 8 of this law and thus for the first time deeply intervened in the private lives of citizens. Celebrations of any kind, weddings as well as funerals, were to be substantially limited in scope in order to make savings. But willingly and without grumbling, all these necessary restrictions are accepted and carried out by the population. In the past, strikes were not uncommon in Japan. In wartime, there was no longer any question of them. According to official data, the unemployment rate was never large in Japan. During the war, with the severe strain on all industry, it has declined even more and can be described as trivial. In many cases, the lot of the heavily indebted peasants improved when the sons found use in the war industry and were able to send home partial amounts from their wages. Then the father could either lighten his burden of debt, or he found opportunity to increase his small holdings, thus increasing his income with increased production. In the United States, one had also pinned one's hopes on social unrest that would cause Japan to abandon the Chinese enterprise, if not a revolution such as German-country experienced in 1918. This hope was deceived. There are radical left-wing elements in Japan as well. But they are treated no less radically than in other countries. The public learns about this only after months.

China clung to the Geneva League of Nations, which was not even a saving straw. China found in the Anglo-Saxons and in France states that were willing to provide financial resources in return for the purchase of war material from China. Chiang Kai-shek also got along with the Communists, whom he had previously fought, and enlisted their 8th Army in his national armies. They gave him allegiance as far as the slogan: "Fight Japan!" remained the same. But he got into new difficulties with them when they demanded increased share in the government for their allegiance. With the "New Life" movement, Chiang Kai-shek created something similar to the Japanese Kodo, a renewal based on the principles of the religious philosopher Confucius. To be sure, China has resisted Japan's actions with all its might. However, it basically adheres to Confucius' words, "It is not brute force that decides, but perseverance." It may be doubtful whether this rule of life can still be considered a useful guideline given the pace of our times.

VIII

KOREA

The assertion that the Japanese are not capable of civilizing achievements can be clearly refuted by pointing out what Japan has made of Korea. Japan annexed the Korean peninsula, from which it was separated by the wide waterway of Korea when the earth's surface was formed, in 1910. Korea thus became a part of the Japanese Empire and has never been a colony. Japan does not know the term colony at all, but speaks of overseas possessions, by which above all the formerly German South Sea Islands are understood. They are administratively under the Ministry of Overseas Affairs. Japan, which had already stretched out its hand to Korea in the campaigns of Shogun Hi-deyoshi at the end of the 16th century, took over a country which, without doubt, did not initially represent a valuable increase in land

territory. Not only frozen in lethargy, but on the declining branch towards the end, the construction of the country required considerable effort. After thirty years, the successes cannot be denied, even if the Japanese have not succeeded in making friends of the Koreans. The latter still perceive the Japanese administration as tolerated foreign rule. It was only a small layer that tried to rise up against the Japanese regiment. But this agitation center had to pitch its tents outside the country and was located in Shanghai. Today, Korean uprisings no longer occur. The Japanese took up the task in the right place by establishing elementary schools throughout the country. Although the entire youth is not yet covered, one can find schools, especially in the capital Keijo, which, raised according to the Japanese model, know how to educate the little Koreans to become obedient subjects of the Tenno. The Korean imperial house has had to vacate the field. The colossal building of the Japanese governor-general's palace completely hides the spacious buildings of the former imperial palace behind it, thus demonstrating perhaps all too clearly the change in governmental power. Korea is not a province or, as they say in Japan proper, not a prefecture, but a governor-general, at the head of which have usually stood important and meritorious figures of Japan, such as the great Prince Ito, who carried out the renewal of Japan with the Emperor Meiji, and later Admiral Saito, assassinated in Tokyo as prime minister, who even held this high post twice. In the great marble hall of the palace are the two large bronze statues of these two men. General Minami, the Minister of War in office at the time of the Manchurian advance, is now Governor General in Korea. The Korean imperial family has not been completely extinguished. Living in Tokyo as a Japanese general is Prince Li, who has a Japanese princess as his wife. Japanese rule has not changed the imperial palace in Keijo, which has a magnificent ceremonial hall. Also still exists the Korean court orchestra, which includes a valuable exhibition of ancient Korean instruments.

Only recently have the Japanese attempted the formation of a Korean volunteer army, which is being trained in small contingents near Keijo by Japanese officers. There can be no question of military use of this force yet. Internal peace and security on the borders are provided by the Japanese military in the form of two active divisions, the 19th and 20th, which are permanently garrisoned in Korea, not alternating with home divisions as was the case earlier with the division housed in the Liautung area before the Japanese advance into Manchuria. A special commander is placed over the two divisions, who is also selected from among the most capable personalities like the Governor General. The two divisions are always ready for action, no longer against internal enemies, but outwardly. Thus they participated with parts in the advance into Manchuria in 1931 and even more extensively under General Nomura in the repulsion of the Soviet-Russian attack at Chang-Kufeng Mountain in the summer of 1938.

The expansion of Korean transportation by the Japanese is mainly strategic in nature. The main railroad leading north from Fusan via the capital has been double-tracked. In the north of the east coast, the three ports of Yuki, Rashin and Seishin were built up rapidly, and a direct connection to Hsinking in Manchuria was established to the west, thus enabling troops to be transported from the Japanese islands to Manchukuo in a shorter time. In the northeast of Korea is the place where Japan had border contact with Russia even before the occupation of Manchuria. There in the north lies part of Korea's natural riches, lie the great forest resources on the Yalu River, which was hotly fought over in the Russo-Japanese War. Japan is a major consumer of wood, without which its clean living culture cannot do. The wartime period has meant that valuable

woods, which were mainly sourced from Canada, are now entering the country only sparingly due to foreign exchange difficulties. As a result, wealthy people have to refrain from decorating their home interiors with these precious woods. For the rest, Korea, the land of the dawn, is mainly a peasant country and, although the male Koreans are known for their comfort, they are much appreciated by the Japanese as agricultural settlers and are well liked in Manchuria. The way of living of the Korean

peasants is entirely different from that of the Japanese. The Korean peasant lives in mud houses, many of which are round in shape like a large Mongolian yurt. In the southern part of the peninsula, the building structure is still very reminiscent of the small-scale economy of the Japanese. The further north one goes, the larger the agricultural economies expand, without yet becoming large estates in our terms. Across the Yalu River on a mighty bridge the railroad leads into Manchuria. Antung is the Manchurian border station. From there, the Japanese had built a narrow-gauge railroad to Mukden during the war against Russia, which was later upgraded to a mainline railroad. Passport and customs control at the Korean-Manchurian border are a sign that the traveler enters an independent state, which, however, still largely walks on the Japanese crutches.

IX

MANDSCHUKUO

Entering Manchuria brings back involuntary memories of an earlier visit to the young Turkey built by Kemal Atatürk on the ruins of the old Ottoman Empire. Just as Constantinople was stripped of its glory as the capital of Turkey and had to put up with a name change to Istanbul, so Mukden is no longer the capital of Manchuria, but Hsinking to the north of it, which was given this name instead of the former Changchun.

Turkey lost its crown and became a republic, while Manchuria was turned from one of the outlying countries of China into an empire under the Chinese name of "the three eastern provinces". Manchukuo became the new name of the state, i.e. land of the Manchus. However, if the three syllables are placed next to each other separately, it means "land of plenty." It was to become so in a short time because of its natural riches. Twice Emperor Kangte has already visited Japan after his accession to the throne and stayed at the holy shrines of the country. In all offices, Japanese nationals sit in key positions alongside Manchurian officials. The Japanese army, which before the occupation had only one active division in the Liautung area in the south and railroad guards on the South Manchurian Railway, now maintains several divisions in the country, mainly keeping border guard against Soviet Russia. Their commander-in-chief, also always one of the most meritorious figures in the Japanese armed forces, is at the same time ambassador to the Manchurian emperor. After all, in the alliance treaty with the new empire of September 15, 1932, Japan undertook in Article 2 to provide for Manchukuo's protection against any hostile attack from outside. In contrast to Korea, the Japanese immediately set up a Manchurian army, which was mainly to provide internal protection.

The Liautung area, acquired after the war against Russia, with the large commercial port of Dairen and the war port of Ryojun or Port Arthur, was not united with the Manchurian state by the Japanese, but kept under their own administration. Manchukuo expanded the port of Hulutao in the southwestern tip of the country, which had already been started by the Chinese government, and enlarged the Tatung port of Antung.

With its 1.3 million square kilometers, Manchukuo is twice as large as Japan. The population density is in inverse proportion. In Japan, 181 people live per square kilometer, in Manchukuo only 27. The visitor immediately takes the impression of the prevailing emptiness with him when he travels from Dairen in the south with the streamlined train "Asia" to the north via Mukden-Hsinking to Harbin on the Sungari, the route used by all European travelers, which leads to Moscow and Western Europe via the border station Manchidi. Manchukuo is a nation state. From 31.5 million in 1932, the population had grown to 39,623,648 by the end of December 1939, distributed among 6,310,499 families. The Han or Chinese are the strongest group, numbering about 30 million. Japanese have grown from 40,000 in 1932 to 418,000. Mongolians are represented by 1.8 millions. Koreans numbered 931,000 in 1937, and among the remainder are about 50,000 Russians. This is to become a unitary state. For this purpose, a society has been founded, which calls itself "Hsieh-Ho-Hui" in Chinese, "Kyo-wakai", unity, in Japanese. It

would be more correct to call it the Society for the Promotion of Concord, because it is only at the very beginning of its efforts. Since joining the society is voluntary, quick results are hardly to be expected. The emperor is very interested in the society and visits the society's home in Hsinking every year. The five ethnic groups are identified in the state flag, each with a special color. The base color is yellow and identifies the Chinese, in the gösch are white, red, blue and black for the other ethnic groups. Similarly, the official suit of the officials is marked. They wear a thick yellow silk cord around the collar, which is hooked into the upper left pocket of the skirt. At the bottom end is a tassel, again in white, red, blue and black.

As in Ankara, the Turkish capital, laid out according to the plans of the German professor Jansen, Hsinking offers the image of a city that is growing almost daily in its expansion. A very generous approach has been taken. For the ministries and other representative buildings, magnificent buildings of great dimensions have been erected, which, however, lack a uniform style. One encounters a mixed style, similar to new buildings in Japan, which cannot always be called happy. Chinese curved roofs merge with Greek rows of columns, as in the case of the Palace of the Council of State, which is particularly high. At first, the buildings were placed in the treeless plain and only then the roads were built to go with them. The new streets are wide and straight, especially Tatung Street as the main artery of the new city with Tatung Square. The emperor gives precedence to the buildings required by the state before his projected new palace is built. Until then, the residence is housed in a sprawling yamen. The considerable costs for the new construction of the capital are procured by a very simple procedure. The land is expropriated by the state and sold to interested parties at a premium. The surplus gained in the process flows into the reconstruction fund. The same procedure is also used by the Mukden city administration.

Manchuria is a rich country. The Japanese initially thought of it as a feeder raw material country for their own industry and did not want to have this destroyed by setting up their own industry in Manchuria as competition. The coal mines of Fushun, which were exploited in open-cast mining, and the Anshan ironworks, both near Mukden, which initially belonged to the South Manchurian Railway, provided the basis for the exploitation of the mineral wealth. For the rest, Manchuria is largely agricultural land, especially in the broad plain lying in the center of the country, where the small-scale farming still predominant in the south, as it is in Japan, changes to large-scale farming in the north. For tilling and harvesting, cattle must then be brought in, the modern tractor. The harsh climate, which is also such a hindrance to Japanese immigration, gives farmers only a few months to harvest the late-sown crops.

Very soon it became apparent that the intended division of production between Japan and Manchukuo was not feasible. In the South Manchurian Railway, which took over the East China Railway bought from Soviet Russia in 1935 as the North Manchurian Railway, a transport company already existed and various industries had joined it. The course was changed when the Japanese and Manchurian governments announced on October 20, 1937, that Yoshisuke Aikawa, the president of the Nippon Industrial Co. had given permission

Tokyo:

German embassy

The company has been granted the right to establish the semi-governmental Manchurian Industrial Development Corporation in Manchuria. Under its knowledgeable president, this company is active in a wide variety of fields. Initially geared to American cooperation, it has increasingly turned its attention to the German market. Since Japanese investments are not so plentiful in view of the burden imposed on Japan by the China war, a new approach has been adopted. Japanese industries are transplanted to Manchukuo, especially small and medium-sized enterprises. In Manchukuo, one involuntarily thinks of the soybean as a valuable agricultural product, especially in its further processing as oil. With the sea routes closed off, the Siberian Railway must be used more and more for transportation to Europe. The Japanese call Manchuria a treasure trove. It may become so one day. Today it is not yet, in any case the existing treasures have not yet been sufficiently exploited.

Modern machines alone are not enough for this; there must be enough hands. They are particularly lacking in agriculture. This touches on the difficult problem of Japanese immigration to Manchuria, since the Japanese would like to accommodate their surplus population in Manchuria after immigration bans and immigration restrictions of other countries with large empty spaces do not allow the outflow to there. So far, all attempts to increase the influx of Japanese to Manchuria have met with little success. The climate is mainly in the way. Actually there are only four warm months a year and then also with cool evenings and nights. In the north the temperature becomes already Siberian with 4–40 degrees Celsius in summer and ■–30 degrees in winter. In winter, storms sweep through the plains with great force. 10,000 members of the Japanese fishing population are roped into fishing and farming on Manchurian waters for the first time after a six-year plan. Farmers must have their rice, which must be transported for lack of own production. Initially, it was believed that the released sol-

The farmers had no luck, however, in settling the data in the manner of the Roman legionnaires.

Moreover, in the first years of the occupation, the conditions were so little consolidated that the farmer had to keep the shotgun ready, in addition to the plow. The Japanese counted 200,000 "bandits," as they say, in the country at that time. There have always been bandits in Manchuria. In addition, the soldiers left behind from Chinese times had come. Through energetic intervention, this land plague has been brought down to a minimum. Railroad guards with machine guns no longer ride on the trains, although a light guarding of the railroad lines is still maintained. Reminders of those troubled times are still to be found here and there in blockhouses – today they call them bunkers – especially on the bridges, and further on in the embrasured walls around farmsteads along the railroad line. The Japanese, however, still transfer these reminders to the time of Russian rule.

On the question of immigration to Manchuria, a distinction must be made between free and directed immigration. The former is claimed almost exclusively by Chinese workers from the northern Chinese provinces, 10,000 of whom are said to cross the Manchukuo border daily. The Manchurian government exercises strict control over them so as not to bring in disagreeable elements who would do more harm than good to the building of the state. They are also not welcome because they often migrate back and take their earnings with them out of the country. However, they form a very undemanding work force with which the higher-ranking Japanese settler can compete only with difficulty. Directed immigration is carried on only by the Japanese for their own people. Before the occupation of Manchuria by Japan, the Chinese authorities made great difficulties for Japanese immigration. In 1932, Japan acquired the right to acquire land in Manchuria, and now conditions gradually improved. In 1932 500, in 1933 also 500, in 1934 300, in 1935 again 500 and in 1936 1000 families were settled. By the end of 1939, there

were 44,000 Japanese families in Manchuria. According to a new settlement program, 100,000 families were to be accommodated in 15 years starting in 1936. The very next year, a new program was set up, providing for mass immigration for 20 years to one million families, the first phase of which was to be completed in 1941 with 100 000 immigrated families. The program was supplemented by the young Japanese educated in Manchurian settler schools, 40,000 of whom were present in two settlement camps near Tsitsihar in northwest Manchuria at the end of 1939. In 1941, it is estimated that there were 100,000 young settlers, whose education was exemplified by German role models in youth education. The capital, Hsin-king, is the most active city in terms of construction, but Mukden is also very active in this regard, even if some of the old splendor disappears, such as a part of the high city wall, which falls victim to the pickaxe because of dilapidation. In addition to the western tombs of the Manchurian emperors, a whole series of modern university buildings are remarkable in the foothills of the city. These temple tombs, which are important in terms of art history, are excellently preserved and present the visitor with examples of the best Chinese architecture.

Harbin, on the south bank of the wide Sungari River, is still thoroughly Russian in the old part of town, as it was in the time of the tsars. This is primarily due to the Russian churches and then the main streets such as Kitaiskaja with its almost purely European buildings. The Japanese have accomplished an outstanding feat on the Sungari itself with the erection of a high dam on the south bank, which now protects the lower lying city forever from the floods that used to occur regularly. The traveler coming from Europe or returning there takes the train over the old bridge built by the Russians. Below it, the Japanese have built a very similar second bridge across the river, over which the new railroad line to the Amur at Aigun opposite Blagoveshchensk passes. This has opened up the area in the Amur arc where there is still unexploited mineral wealth, but above all the railroad has great strategic value for transporting troops directly up from Dairen to the Amur in the north. On the Sungari River itself floats a flotilla of gunboats provided by the Japanese to take the place of the obsolete Chinese flotilla, which in 1929 was still engaged in a battle with Soviet gunboats at the confluence of the Sungari and the Amur. Among the Chinese boats that were fairly played with by the Russians at that time was an early German gunboat that had been sunk near Canton at the beginning of the World War to keep it from falling into the hands of British pirates. The Chinese lifted the boat and had it sail the long way from the southern coast of their country to the mouth of the Amur River and on to the Sungari to join the flotilla there. The Japanese boats are adapted in design to their particular use. Amidships, on a high superstructure, there are powerful searchlights to illuminate the back area of the river. There, the bandit plague has not yet been completely eliminated. It is not yet advisable to go downstream or upstream on the river beyond the city limits.

In terms of culture and religion, the Japanese in Harbin have also come up with a new building. Having built temples to Confucius on their home islands in recent times, they have done the same in Harbin. Thus, next to the venerable Confucius temples, which China has in the most classical forms, one gets to see a spotless new complex, which completely lacks the patina of older models. The main building is a faithful replica on a smaller scale of the Tai Hai Palace in the Forbidden City in Beijing. The same is true of the outbuildings. The marble staircase, not yet weathered and shining in dazzling whiteness, is not missing, nor is the marble turtle. The walls are painted dark purple according to the Chinese patterns and richly decorated with gold.

Japan's war with China has somewhat stalled the generous plans for building the Manchurian Empire. This is especially true of the five-year plan, which was devoted to building up industry. In the second year, it had to be revised. A ten-year plan was drawn up to promote agriculture. Above all, transportation was improved and railroad construction advanced. Every year, new rail lines are opened and new feeder lines are added to the older ones. In the west, railroad engineers are advancing as far as

Inner Mongolia. This is the responsibility of the South Manchurian Railway, which is also responsible for the construction of new roads. In the three eastern provinces, dams are being built on the hitherto useless rivers in order to supply planned industrial plants with power. When the Manchurian Empire was established, it was said that Manchuria would become the paradise of peace on earth. It cannot be denied that considerable achievements have already been made under Japanese leadership. The elimination of the currency confusion, which Japan inherited from the Chinese, is an achievement that must be acknowledged. Just as Japan has its Kodo, the Imperial Way, to guide it in private and public life, so the citizen of Manchukuo has the Wangtao, or the Way of the Benevolent Ruler Official recognition has come to the new empire only very sparsely. San Salvador was the first state to take this step, if one disregards Japan, which would have to be mentioned first. When the Pope appointed a delegate for Manchukuo, Hsinking saw this as an expression of recognition. Italy, Germany and Spain followed, while the Soviet Union could not yet make up its mind, although by selling the East China Railway to Manchukuo it had in a sense recognized that state. England, America and France refuse to recognize it because they cooperate with the Chungking government, which wants nothing to do with Manchukuo. However, they are represented by consulates in Manchuria.

The leased area of Kwantung or the Liautung area, which, as already mentioned, remains under direct Japanese administration, deserves special attention. It is the old leased territory of the Russians from 1898. Actually, Japan as the legal successor of the Russians would have had to return it to China in 1923, since the lease was only for 25 years. Japan prevented this in 1915. It had China grant it an extension of the lease period to 99 years, a period that is internationally customary for such treaties and which can be set to "perpetuity". In 1922 and 1925

Japan abolished four of its active divisions for reasons of economy. The decision to abandon the Port Arthur fortress after the world war was based on the same motive. The wave of armaments that began later in the world overturned this decision. Port Arthur became a fortress again and was considerably expanded. A special northern squadron was placed there. The old Russian fortifications and forts are now used only for tourism and are much visited as memorials of the Russo-Japanese War. The new facilities are not shown to the public, who can only see with their own eyes the ideal location of the war port, which in 1904/05 became a mousetrap for the Russian East Asia Fleet.

X

NORTH CHINA

The ancient imperial city of Beijing, from where the Son of Heaven ruled his vast empire, has already lost much of its former glory due to the revolution of 1911 and the subsequent abdication of the last emperor, Hsüan Tung, who now sits on the imperial throne in Manchukuo. The dethroned emperor, who was only six years old at the time of his abdication, was initially able to stay with his English tutor in his fathers' palace in the Forbidden City until he was driven out of it by the "Christian" general Feng Yu-hsiang and found safe lodgings in the Japanese concession in Tientsin. The Republic of China was then poorly administered from Beijing until Chiang Kai-shek moved the seat of the new national government to Nanking in 1928. A subsidiary branch of the government was established in Beijing under the name of a Political Council. At first, the foreign missions, embassies, and legations could not decide to leave their heavily secured quarters in the envoy district in Beijing and move to Nanking. Germany led the way, dragging the others behind it. There, too, only a short stay was granted. Due to the events of the war between China and Japan, the Chinese government moved to Chungking on the upper Yangtze River. The Japanese-backed Kuomin government of Wang Ching-wei again chose Nanking as its seat, but so far only received recognition from Japan and Manchukuo. It continued the old system of the Nanking government and maintained a Political Council in Beijing as a branch of government, initially headed by Wang Keh-min. He was soon succeeded by Wang I-tang. He ruled in

the building of the former Chinese Foreign Office, which was built in European style at the time when Prince Henry of Prussia came to China for an official visit. It is an exaggeration to say that Beijing has become a museum with the addition of the Summer Palace and the Imperial Tombs in the Western Mountains. It is already the case with the Forbidden City, which in the past no unauthorized person was allowed to enter. For a modest entrance fee, to be paid at the entrance gate, anyone can visit the extensive, culturally and historically so high^ and in its expanse immense complex.

There was hardly any fighting around Beijing itself at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War. The opening battle took place in the southwest. After four weeks, following the withdrawal of the Chinese garrison, a Japanese column of 2,000 men entered Peking, a significant event in the history of Peking, which had previously had to change its name to Peiping and was called Peitsin by the Japanese. In contrast, the Japanese had to use stronger forces to conquer Tientsin. There was considerable street fighting there. The ruins of the Chinese War School still bear witness to the harshness of the fighting. The fighting was even more severe in 1937 to the northwest of Beijing, where the Japanese had to deploy several divisions at Nankau Pass, then push through to the Inner Mongolian Plateau at Kalgan and extend their advance to the northern knee of the Hoangho and beyond.

The war began in the usual way with an incident at the site of Lukouchiao, southwest of Beijing, and ended initially with the capture of the city and the victorious engagement of the Japanese at the Marco Polo, located at the southern exit.

Bridge, which takes its name from the fact that Marco Polo mentioned it for the first time in his travelogue. Both sides initially tried to settle the incident through negotiations after appropriate instructions arrived from Tokyo. The commander of the 29th Chinese Army, General Sung Chieh-yuan, was still at his headquarters in Beijing. One night he had disappeared with his staff. The ball had started rolling. Four weeks later, the Japanese occupied Peking. Tientsin was conquered, the attack was led northwest to Inner Mongolia, then advanced south to Pautingfu. Meanwhile, the battle had broken out at Shanghai. The city was abandoned by the Chinese when they found themselves threatened on their right flank from Hangchow Bay. Nanking fell in December 1937, leaving undecided the Chinese governor of Shantung Province, Han Fu-chü. Finally, the Japanese moved into the province via Tsinanfu in early 1938. Han was ordered to Chungking and shot. The Chinese rallied to vigorous defense around Hsüchoufu. At Teierhchwan the Japanese were badly pressed and, after several weeks of back-and-forth fighting, saved the situation only when they had landed at Tsingtau and brought fresh divisions from Manchuria and Shanghai. After the battle was won, the way to the interior of China was clear. The new theater of war was the south, where the Japanese landed at Bias Bay, known as a pirate's nest, and from there stormed Canton on October 21, 1938. Four days later, Hankau fell on the middle Yangtze River. Great victory celebrations were held in Tokyo and throughout Japan. Probably with good reason. Militarily, the successes were on the Japanese side, but the enemy did not declare himself defeated. He went back to the two western provinces, to Szechuan and Yünnan, and built up a new China there with concentrated strength. There were no more major events in the field. The Japanese confined themselves to improving the fronts through advances, for example northwest of Hankau, and to clearing up the Chinese forces that had fallen behind their fronts. An attack pushed in the south after the landing at Pakhoi resulted in the occupation of the former capital of Kwangsi Province, Nanning, thus cutting off the link from Indochina to Chungking. The Japanese switched to attrition tactics, retreating a little here and there, then pouncing on the onrushing Chinese. The city of Chungking, perched on high rock, became a constant target for the Japanese army and navy bombardment squadrons - Japan does not have an independent air force - and drove the inhabitants again and again into the shelters cut into the rock, while the buildings collapsed under the hail of bombs. From time to time, the Chinese air force made its presence felt, without being able to do anything against the Japanese

superiority. The Chinese later replaced their "scorched earth" tactics with "rubber band" tactics. By making short advances, they irritated the enemy in order to evade him on the counterattack. Guerrilla warfare was particularly vigorous, and the Japanese were hard hit. The guerrillas were deployed as far as the gates of Shanghai and Peking, and even in the easternmost tip of Shantung Province. With admirable speed, the orders from Chungking reached these left-behind irregulars. One thinks of the drum signals of the Negroes in Africa, which rush through the whole country with tremendous speed. In China, modern technical means will have been used and radio telegraphy will have been employed for these purposes.

It was very valuable for orientation about the military events to be able to talk privately with such an important personality as the Japanese commander-in-chief on the northern front in Peking, Colonel General Sugiyama. He resided in the same Yamen, a splendid building used as a command center by the Chinese commander-in-chief in Peking before him. The Northern Front High Command was established by the Japanese after Peking was occupied and the area from Kalgan to Tientsin was firmly in their hands. The first Supreme Commander was Colonel General Terauchi, former Minister of War and son of the famous Minister of War under the great Emperor Meiji. In September 1939, General Sugiyama was succeeded by General Umezu, whose name begins with the prefixes

The Japanese army was closely linked to the Japanese campaign in northern China from earlier years. General Sugiyama could prove by examples from his campaign experiences that the Japanese army is superior to the Chinese army in leadership and attacking spirit, not to mention the equipment of the Japanese army with modern war material. Nevertheless, it must be said that some of the Chinese armies did excellently. They fought at home and had the mass of men to oppose the enemy. Since the summer of 1939, they have lacked the foreign advisors who had been withdrawn and who had rendered sacrificial and dedicated service especially in training the troops.

XI

GREATER EAST ASIA

The Japanese are fond of buzzwords. The concept of a "new order" for East Asia, which Japan wants to bring about, only emerged in the course of the China War. The same is true of the foreign policy goal of "regional autonomies." Finally, fatigue was inevitable when one heard the same slogans from each new cabinet but thought no action could be detected. The demand to finally put an end to negative politics and to put in its place positive and constructive politics, in order to keep pace with the rapidly changing world situation, especially with regard to what was happening in Europe, became louder and more urgent. There was a demand for the iron broom which would make a general overhaul of the inactive course of action hitherto pursued by the government. Outside the government there were men who had a name and who put the weight of their personality at the disposal of these demanding voices from the people. Men like former Interior Minister Nobumasa Suetsugu or former Ambassador to Rome Shiratori contacted the prime minister directly and told him that the time for half measures was over. The time was too serious to proceed along this path. Hand in hand with this external renewal should go the internal transformation that Prince Konoye had already sought at the time of his first cabinet leadership, with the goal of creating a national unity party.

The government could not escape these encouraging calls. It acknowledged the negative aspects of its predecessors' foreign policy leadership and established very clear guiding principles for itself. Of course, policy had to follow the spirit of the Kodo, the imperial way. And just as natural was the striving to come to an end with the China conflict as soon as possible. In that case, it was perhaps a clever move to surpass the demands of the malcontents. The negative and thus limited foreign policy was seen in the fact that previous cabinets sought to maintain friendly relations with all nations, often sitting on the fence. Now this behavior is no longer to be practiced toward nations that are unwilling to cooperate

with Japan – in the spirit of the "new order." Finally, however, this "new order" was cast in a new form. It is: "Order for a Greater East Asia", in short for Greater East Asia. The "new order" had been Japan, Manchukuo and China. Greater East Asia is a much broader concept. It looks southward and encompasses the Western Pacific region. The repercussions of the European war are obvious. This East Asian bloc is intended to stabilize conditions in this area. Politically, economically and culturally, it should complement each other and lead to mutual prosperity. It is hoped that this will bring greater elasticity to Japan's foreign policy.

This program, in fact, represents a complete change in Japanese foreign policy, not least in its attitude toward the other powers. Its vigorous implementation could be of epoch-making significance. It is essential that the new guidelines be drawn up after detailed conferences with the representatives of the armed forces, with their agreement. The military will pay close attention that there is no deviation from the new path. Otherwise

they do not maintain their support. The missionary idea reappears here, when it is said that Japan must fulfill its historical mission in the epochal age of the construction of a new world order.

First, however, the first prerequisite must be met: a rapid end to the China conflict. This requires two things. The other side is still resisting moving into the Japanese line of order. The more far-reaching plans may face even greater and more difficult obstacles, since several parties on the other side have to be won over to the Japanese line of thought, and they will certainly bump into each other hard in space.

XII

THE PACIFIC JAPAN

It is still necessary to take a closer look at the other face of Japan. So far, only the continental Japan has been considered. The Pacific face is no less important, especially in the latest developments. It is easy to explain that the Europeans, including the Germans, see Japan mainly from the west, because they usually approach the Far East from the west by ship or via Siberia and leave it again to the west. Only the voyage across the Pacific Ocean provides the view of the second face of the Japanese island empire directed to this ocean. A trip to the South Seas would be useful, but is arduous. To the north, the view sweeps across the Japanese Kuril Islands to Kamchatka and on across the Bering Strait to the American Aleutian Islands and Alaska. Hawaii does not escape observation during the crossing to America. The island bases of American naval strategy advanced westward from it are seldom seen in the distance. The voyage ends in the broad San Francisco Bay, after passing under the Golden Gate Bridge, a model of modern bridge construction high above the water. One visualizes in the north the natural harbors of Seattle, American, and close by the Canadian Vancouver. If one spurns the sea voyage from San Francisco to Los Angeles, the South Pacific Railroad takes the traveler to the western American movie city. From Signal Hill¹, with a large telescope, one can see most of the American navy assembled with the large aircraft carriers "Lexington" and "Saratoga" getting ready for new fleet maneuvers at the San Pedro War Port. California also provides shelter and repair facilities for the fleet at its second wartime port, San Diego, while Los Angeles provides fuel in abundance for the oil-fired craft. Rounding out the maritime strategic picture is the Panama Canal, still farther south, the thoroughfare with the still unfortified Kulebra Inlet, for merchant shipping as fortunate a shortcut in the sea lanes as the Suez Canal, for the American navy indispensable for throwing fleet forces rapidly from one ocean to the other. Nature has alienated the United States from the Pacific Ocean. A chain of coastal mountains runs along the Pacific shore. Consequently, favorable port sites are thin on the ground. It was not until late that the first major push across the Pacific was made to awaken Japan from its slumber in 1853. No sooner was the connection established than America seemed to have forgotten for 40 years that there was a Pacific. The acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines in 1898 ushered in the new era and gave the United States the double face of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The American continent offers enough of the observations which also give full features to its Pacific face. After the flourishing cities in the West, one finds very strange the desolate lands that form the hinterland to them and receives the answer to questions: "We don't need the land!" Thus speaks the rich America, which at any time has the possibility of transforming desolate lands into fertile ones, as Los Angeles has been transformed from a meager, water-scarce nest into a thriving city of millions enveloped in sprawling gardens. One must see the great cities of Central America and the East to get an idea of the country's performance capabilities. Washington, this noble national center, which stands out so pleasingly from the skyscraper cities, contains the brain of the state. The view of the sober, merely business-minded soul of the North American is wrong and is given the lie in Washington. The American, too, has his national shrine, to which he draws out of inner sympathy, not the somewhat ostentatiously put-upon Abraham Lincoln Memorial in its Hellenistic replica, but Mount Vernon, where America's greatest statesman, George Washington, lived in his simply designed country home and is buried nearby in a chapel-like tomb that is always surrounded by devout Americans. Go out into the country and observe how the American makes living history. Wherever the Northern and Southern states crossed blades, clear plaques provide information about these historically significant events. South America can remain on the sidelines of these considerations. Its western states have taken little interest in Pacific conditions. One has only to keep an eye on the Galapagos Islands off the coast of Ecuador in case of major entanglements.

Pacific Japan, seen in these circumstances, receives its full illumination. Until 1905, when it gained a firm foothold on the continent for the first time with the Portsmouth Peace Treaty and the transfer of the Liau-tung Peninsula, the Japanese island arc, seen in the great lines of the world, resembled the first position of a great defensive structure that lacked positions extended backward and a stage to supply replacements. Just as its own land is divided by waterways, a wide expanse of water pushes between the islands and the mainland in the rear, narrowing only at Korea to a few nautical miles and breaking the natural connection with the mainland at this point. Today, when the two islands of Kiushiu and Honda between Modshi and Shimonoseki are already connected by a temporary tunnel, Japan has seriously approached the plan to also connect Shimonoseki with Fusan by a tunnel, which could have its central support at the island of Tsushima. Before the expansion of the hinterland on the continent could be implemented, the World War offered an easy opportunity to gain space forward and, in order to secure the Pacific front, to occupy groups of islands that had come under Japanese administration from German colonial possession as mandate territories. These were the island groups of the Caroline, Marshall and Mariana Islands. Thus a wedge was driven between the English-American island possessions, since England seized the formerly German island possessions south of the equator, but America with the island of Guam stands as a foreign body in Japan's Pacific outpost position. It will never be forgotten in Japan that the imperial army with stronger forces stood east of Lake Baikal after the World War. The adventurous international expedition through Siberia had brought the Japanese as far as there. With their collapse, there was a retreat as far as the Vladivostok area. High in the north, Nikolayevsk at the mouth of the Amur River and the northern half of Sakhalin had been carved out of Russian possession. The Washington Conference shattered all of Tokyo's bold plans; all of the gains from the World War, which had been relatively easily acquired, had to be abandoned. The Fleet Limitation Agreement relegated Japan to only its four main islands for building national defense. Vladivostok, Nikolayevsk, and North Sakhalin did not revert to the former owner, but to its successor, Soviet Russia. On October 25, 1922, the last Japanese soldier boarded the transport steamer in Vladivostok. Soviet Russia became the riparian of the great ocean, to strengthen from year to year and to make corresponding claims from this position. A year later, the great earthquake of Tokyo and Yokohama, in connection with the dawning world economic crisis, threw Japan back several steps. Four years sufficed to heal the wounds

inflicted by the natural disaster by exerting all national forces and to resume the thread of foreign policy activity that was dragging on the ground. The occupation of Manchuria and the founding of the Manchukuo Empire led to an active policy on the continent, where the post-war Japan was able to take on the role of a "new power".

The new order in East Asia under Japan's leadership is to be the crowning achievement of the planned end to the conflict in China.

In 35 years, Japan has managed to shape its weakly fortified island position into one that is forward-secured and deeply developed in the rear. There are still some foreign bodies to be eliminated, as far as they do not disappear by themselves. Danger threatens less from the front in the Pacific than from the flanks. The southwestern flank is particularly vulnerable, but still capable of expansion. No one can deny Japan credit for this policy, carried step by step from success to success by its own efforts. To the same extent, however, the ill-wishers grew up and the resistance of those affected by it increased.

XIII

JAPAN'S POSITION IN WORLD POLITICS

Actually, it needs no justification that Japan cannot pursue a purely European policy. It lies with its idyllic islands on the other side of the globe and faces problems in its living space that are purely East Asian-Pacific. On the other hand, it is undoubted that the repercussions of European events are clearly felt in Japan and demand its close attention. On one occasion Japan allowed itself to be drawn into European politics when it followed the locomotives of the British and allowed itself to be harnessed to their chariot. This happened through the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, renewed in 1909 and 1911, when, without engaging itself, Britain let its contracting partner fight against Russia in order to break its strength, which had become uncomfortable. Japan willingly accepted this order, which was mephistophelically blown into its ears, because it coincided with its intentions to throw back its inconvenient rival in East Asia, Russia, from its propelled position. Only after the World War did this British game come to an end when, during the British Empire Conference of 1921, the dominions, primarily Canada, refused to accept the alliance as a

The Washington Conference buried the alliance that had resulted in Japan siding with England, and thus with the Allies, against the Central Powers in the Great War. The Washington Conference buried the alliance that had resulted in Japan siding with England, and thus the Allies, against the Central Powers in the World War. In the Japanese army, people have always regretted this backlash. Until recent times, the Japanese navy was emotionally inclined toward the British line, having taken the British navy as the model for its own rearmament. And likewise, certain circles of Japanese politicians have mourned the alliance with the British and have repeatedly tried to resume the old policy with Britain.

In the summer of 1939, at the beginning of the third year of the war, Japan began to realize, as press reports indicated, that the war would be fought not against China but against Britain, which had proved to be the main obstacle to Japan's goal of order. The loans granted by the British to China and the continuing supply of war material to Chungking were the hallmark of Britain's attitude toward East Asian developments, which London did not want to know about, but was rather anxious to put the brakes on everywhere. There was no doubt in Japanese military circles about Britain's weakened position in East Asia. British arrangements to strengthen its European position in view of the war against Germany, which was being prepared according to plan, while at the same time further weakening it in East Asia, had become apparent. Again it was the younger Japanese officer circles who urged action and

pushed forward the strike against the British concession at Tientsin. It was a daring enterprise for more thoughtful minds, since there was no sign yet of an imminent end to the Chinese War. Success was with the daring. England had to put up with severe humiliation. Anti-British rallies were the order of the day in Tokyo and other cities. People irug banners through the streets with inscriptions, "Chastise perfidious Albion!" In the months that followed, the ship of Japanese politics was tossed up the crests of waves, but just as often down the troughs. The so often noted wavering of Japanese politics came more clearly to the fore.

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than ever, caused by an unstable foreign policy leadership and driven by the desire not to mess with any power if possible. The Friends of England temporarily disappeared behind the scene after these events. The leader Adolf Hitler coined the expression of the world political triangle Germany-Italy-Japan. Certain political and military circles in Japan took this as a starting point when they sought to bring Japan closer to the Berlin-Rome axis and worked seriously to achieve this. In London, these plans were closely followed, since they wanted to use Japan as well as Russia in the encirclement against Germany. How could Japan be dissuaded from these plans, which were dangerous for England? The still ongoing Tientsin conflict offered a possibility, if one made Japan very magnanimous appearing, but basically insignificant concessions. Thus, surprisingly, the Arita-Craigie Agreement was reached in Tokyo on the night of July 22-23, 1939. The British friends reappeared behind the scene and entered the stage. Japan, however, did not call their bluff. The siege of the British concession at Tientsin was maintained. Tokyo must have heard what the British Prime Minister had declared in the House of Commons when he was reproached for undermining British prestige with his concessions to Japan. The deputies calmed down when he spoke of "instantaneous" concessions, revealing perfidious Albion once again. Britain had probably said Japan, but meant Germany.

The Japanese friends of Britain were able to show themselves in their apparently regained glory for only a short time. On July 27, 1939, they were dealt a new blow when the United States terminated the 1911 trade agreement with Japan and subsequently showed no inclination to renew it. It expired on January 27, 1940. The interpretation could only be: America took over the role of watchdog for England in the Pacific and East Asia because England had her hands full with her final preparations against Germany. So the arrangements MacDonald had made with President Hoover during the latter's recuperative stay on the Rapidan River were still valid. Also, the American naval visit to the inauguration of the Naval Base at Singapore and the visit of American Admiral Yarnell to Hong Kong now took on a special definite significance. The signing of the July 29 German-Japanese trade treaty poured some oil on the aching Japanese wound. The question of a closer Japanese connection with the Axis came back into flux. England tried a new concession. It agreed to hand over to Japan the Chinese assassins placed under its protection in the Tientsin concession, thus finally settling the Tientsin conflict. This, too, did not make much of an impression in Tokyo. Nor were they swayed by another lure, as the paper, which is close to the British government, wrote: the Moscow negotiations would offer Japan the opportunity to subject its European policy to an examination.

An event struck like thunder and lightning, which not only threw all the pieces of the chessboard out of place in Japan, but also came as a great surprise to the whole world: On August 23, 1939, Germany concluded the non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia in Moscow. It seemed almost grotesque that the British and French missions were still in Moscow at the time of the conclusion and did not make any progress with their plans to enlist Soviet Russia against Germany. It took some time of calm reflection before the waves of excitement in Tokyo over Germany's conclusion of the treaty with Moscow smoothed out again and disillusionment took the place of hasty condemnation. The reports of knowledgeable and initiated personalities who returned to Japan from Germany did much to calm

Japan. One was justified in pointing out to the Japanese that they would not have acted differently in a similar situation. Japan was even able to reap its own fruit from the German-Russian agreement, since it opened the way for it to settle the serious armed conflict on the Mongolian border at Nomonhan by the armistice of September 15, 1939. Hostilities ceased on September 16. Japan was released several divisions and several squadrons of aircraft, which it could more usefully employ in the fight against China.

China had sought, but never found, salvation in the Geneva League of Nations since 1931, when Japan invaded Manchuria. In 1937, China again grasped at this straw, which after Japan's withdrawal could hardly exert any influence. It tried another route and pulled out the dusty Nine-Power Treaty of the Washington Conference, by which China's inviolability was supposed to be guaranteed. Even then, Japan regarded the treaty as obsolete. Geneva appeared only as the sender of the invitation cards to the Brussels Conference, which met in November 1937 and was attended by the United States as a signatory to the treaty, but not Japan. Thus, an opera performance took place that lacked the most important personality, the prima donna, as it was jokingly said. The outcome was platonic. A long-winded resolution was drafted, which had no effect. Italy exercised the right of abstention and introduced the most reasonable proposal, which called for a direct understanding between China and Japan to end the conflict. Finally, China once again enlisted the League of Nations in its plans in September 1938. The General Assembly adopted "individual sanctions" against Japan, meaning that it was left to each state to decide what to do about Japan. Subsequently, at the end of the year, Japan withdrew its officials still remaining in Geneva and renounced any further participation, which it had still maintained in the International Labor Office and in some commissions after its withdrawal. It has hardly been noticed that China liquidated its Geneva office at the League of Nations in July 1940. Its disappointment had become too great after all.

Japan saw the support that England, France, and America gave China, both financially and through war materiel supplies, as a kind of individual Geneva-style sanctions. Its ambition had to be to cut off these supplies and to isolate China completely. Supplies could reach Chungking through Burma and through Indochina. The latter route was effectively achieved by Japan's advances on Nanning and the destruction of the Yünnan Railway by its bomb squadrons. The same fate befell the Burma Road after the British failed to renew the three-month ban on war materials on the road signed with Japan on October 18, 1940. In Chungking, people have always looked to Europe with apprehension as to whether war would break out there. In this case it was to be expected that China's helpers, Britain and France, would have to limit their support because their hands were tied by the war in Europe. That Japan would take advantage of the European war in this sense was probably self-evident. This was all the more so because the weakness of the British had already become obvious before the outbreak of hostilities. Japan could and did show off. At the outbreak of the European war, it tackled an urgent issue: the foreign crews still in place in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai under the Boxer Protocol of 1901, as well as the voyages of foreign warships on the great Chinese rivers. The British initially reduced their crews by half. In August 1940, the last Highland regiment pulled out of Shanghai. Japan demanded that it take over the previously British urban areas, but did not succeed. British troops were also withdrawn from northern China, a huge loss of prestige after the occupation had lasted 39 years. The British, and after them the French, also reduced their naval units in Chinese waters. What happened to the proud British in the Far East! France, after its collapse in Europe, allowed a Japanese commission under a general to supervise the export of Indochina to China on the spot. In a special treaty of September 23, 1940, Japan received permission from France to enter Tongking with a certain contingent of troops and to establish airfields. Still one supply road remained open, the so-called red road from Soviet Russia. Already in the second year of the war, Russian airmen had been identified in the Chinese Air Force. After the dissolution of the military advisory staff at the Chinese government, Russian instructors were added, and material

transports also arrived in Chungking. These could never assume larger proportions. That forbade the wide

and arduous route via Chinese Turkestan, which was under Russian control, and the Chinese northwestern province of Kansu. The sale of the East China Railway by Russia to Japan-Manchukuo in May 1935 had by no means brought about friendly relations between Japan and Russia. Incidents on the Manchurian-Soviet-Russian border became more frequent and, accurately recorded by the Japanese, numbered in the hundreds. Every year of the war, a particularly serious incident occurred, forcing Japan to keep a number of its best divisions ready on the border against the Soviet Far East. In addition, China had signed a reinsurance treaty with Soviet Russia in 1937 that starkly illuminated the interrelationships. In the summer of the first year of the war in 1937, Russian divisions surprisingly occupied the islands of Chinamuhö and Kanchatse in the middle reaches of the Amur River, about whose ownership there were no clear guidelines. Japanese gunboats sent the Russians back to the northern bank of the river. In the summer of 1938, a Russian division broke into Manchurian territory in the far northeast and engaged in considerable fighting with Japanese troops using the most modern weapons at Chang Kufeng Mountain. After a period of four weeks, an armistice ended this serious incident. In the summer of 1939, these Russian attempts at disruption in the rear of the Japanese increased, keeping in mind their front against China. At the three-country corner where Outer and Inner Mongolia and Manchukuo clashed, near the village of Nomonhan, strong Soviet Russian and Mongol forces attacked and engaged in back-and-forth fighting for weeks with Japanese divisions, alongside which Manchurian divisions fought for the first time. On the ground there were armored car battles, in the air fierce air battles. The armistice of September 15, 1939 put an end to the fighting, which was very inconvenient for Japan. To avoid repetitions in the future, the border was to be marked in those remote areas. After unfruitful negotiations in Chita and Harbin, more promising ones did not take place until late 1940. There are two other issues between Russia and Japan: fishing in northern Siberian waters and Japanese oil concessions on northern Sakhalin. In both of them only agreements for short periods of time are reached. Finally, Soviet Russia feels itself a riparian of the Pacific Ocean and wants to be heard on the big issues. Vladivostok, completely broken down, has been ■restored to a strong fortress. Soviet Russia has also brought overland to the Pacific Ocean submarines in a dismantled state which, assembled there, were to form the basis of a Russian Far East fleet. In 1940, the first fleet exercises by the Russians actually took place from Vladivostok, with small cruisers observed alongside smaller units. Accordingly, transfers of Russian fleet units from the Black Sea to the Far East must have taken place. The agreements of the Montreux Conference in 1936 had opened the way for Russia through the Dardanelles for these purposes. The fortification of the Diomedes Islands in the Bering Strait by Soviet Russia prompted America to expand its naval bases in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak and Unalaska, at a cost of \$4.5 million.

The Silent Ocean is marked by the still peacefully fought Japan-America duel. Japan has dedicated a monument to the American Commodore Perry, the man who awakened it from its isolation from the rest of the world. America did not thank Japan for this honor. The Washington Conference was, in essence, an Anglo-Saxon plot to push Japan down from the supremacy it had gained in the Far East and the Pacific during the World War. This was largely accomplished both by the naval arrangements and by the Pacific and Nine-Power Treaties. In addition came the return of Kiauchau to China, came the granting of American rights to the cable island of Yap, and other promises by Japan that wrested back from it the continental gains it had won in the World War. Japan's national pride was severely wounded by this, no less by the moral defamation that the Anglo-Saxons denied Japan in Washington the racial equality already demanded at Versailles. This insult was compounded by the American immigration legislation of

The ban was further tightened on July 1, 1924, when all immigration of Orientals, including Japanese, Chinese, Indians and Koreans, was prohibited. On the same line run the British prohibitions for Australia and New Zealand and somewhat milder ones for Canada. At that time, Japan and America withdrew their mutual ambassadors for months at a time. Nevertheless, Japan was always anxious not to aggravate relations with America. It was even treated with special care. There were also weighty economic reasons, since Japan was dependent on America's oil and cotton, and America on Japan's silk. In the grand scheme of things, both are a Pacific problem that must be viewed primarily from the standpoint of the two fleets. Already during the Washington Conference, America had dropped the distinction between Atlantic and Pacific fleets and created the United States Fleet, which can be easily moved from one ocean to the other with the help of the Panama Canal. In 1925, this fleet appeared for the first time, almost united, in the Pacific Ocean and undertook maneuvers there, followed by a visiting voyage to Australia and New Zealand much to the chagrin of the London Fleet League. Events in the Far East, with Japan's policy of expansion to the continent, caused America to keep its fleet permanently together in the California ports of San Pedro and San Diego. Only weak parts remained in the Atlantic, while a special Asian squadron was placed in the Philippines. Each year the Americans held fleet maneuvers in the early months that had as their basis both the defense of the Panama Canal against attack from the Pacific and the defense of the Hawaiian Islands. Already in Washington, a "gentlemen's agreement" had been reached between America and Japan to consider the dateline, i.e., the 180th meridian, also as a maneuver boundary, so as not to get in each other's way during the exercises. Japan's denunciation of the Washington Naval Agreement and its refusal to participate in subsequent naval conferences created an entirely new situation in the Pacific. It removed the fortification clause that had not been applied to Hawaii and its wartime port of Pearl Harbor, so that both Japan and America could proceed to fortifications wherever they saw fit. Although Japan, as long as it was a member of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations, always denied it, it may well be assumed that it had created defenses on the formerly German South Sea Islands, as well as on the intermediate points to them, the Bonin and Volcano Islands. The Spartley Islands, acquired in 1939, will probably not have been occupied only for the purpose of employing fishermen. America has created the Panama Canal-Alaska-Aloeuuten-Hawaii maritime strategic triangle and, having postponed the construction of a second Central American canal through Nicaragua, is building to double the locks of the Panama Canal. The far western possession of the Philippines requires special arrangements. The arm to there has been created with the base policy on Midway, Wake, and Johnson Islands, and a connection has been made from Hawaii southward toward the Samoa Islands by breaking into the Phoenix group, owned by England, so that an Anglo-Saxon condominium has been established there on Canton and Enderbury Islands. Still unresolved is the question of Guam, which American naval experts would like to see developed as a base, but so far have found no sympathy for this plan in Congress. If attached, these naval experts believe, Guam could hold off an attack on Hawaii from the west for about three months until the U.S. Navy is on the scene with its main force. With the naval strategic installation in the Pacific, America has created a pincer threatening Japan from the north and from the south. In the Hawaiian Islands, and specifically on Oahu, is the large base of Pearl Harbor. It is there that the Hawaii Division is housed. The importance of this Pacific central position results from the fact that the American fleet commander, Admiral Bloch, was appointed to command the naval base. The tightening of relations with Japan has led America not only to build battleships over 40,000 tons, in which Japan immediately followed it, but it has also substantially increased the manning of Oahu and the naval forces there and in the Philippines, and older units have been replaced by newbuildings. Japan is following these American measures with the greatest attention and has officially announced that it views this development with concern in the event of a further expansion

of the American fleet. Still, Japan has maintained its equanimity so far. As a special concession to America, Japan released navigation on the lower Yangtze and Pearl Rivers in southern China. It was also believed that a better mood could be expected in Washington when the Japanese Ambassador Saito, who had died in Washington, was transferred to Japan on an American cruiser. In fact, the American attitude stiffened. How could the mood in Washington improve when Roosevelt took into his cabinet as Secretary of War the old Republican Colonel Stimson, who as Secretary of State under President Hoover had tried in vain to lead America and also England to active intervention against Japan when Japan occupied Manchuria? By banning the export of aviation fuel and scrap steel, America has struck a new sensitive blow against Japan. Japanese oil companies already operate in Dutch India. Japan also gets its rubber from there. So it took the decisive step of sending there its Minister of Industry and Trade, Ichizo Kobayashi, who is neither a diplomat nor a politician, but has a special reputation in Japan as an industrialist of the greatest stature.

XIV

WAR BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA?

In this state of affairs, the question naturally arises: will there be a war between Japan and the United States? This war has been predicted many times. It would take place primarily at sea. So far, both parts have avoided such an aggravation of their relations. But now that the waning power of the British Empire is becoming increasingly apparent as a result of its failures in Europe, America seems to be arrogating to itself the role of British heir in the Pacific and the Far East. America's arrangements with Canada and American leases from Newfoundland to the north coast of South America on British possessions in the Atlantic Ocean permit corresponding conclusions about America's plans in the Pacific. There, America's eyes are on the Cocos Islands belonging to Costa Rica and also on the Galapagos (Colon) Islands, which Ecuador is unlikely to keep under stronger American pressure. Agreements with Canada provide for the joint expansion of air bases on Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands. One thinks of such speculation about a Japanese-American war in the book written by a connoisseur and expert and published in a new edition in 1935 by the English naval reporter Hector C. Bywater, who is said to have died in a German air raid in Richmond in August 1940: "The Great Pacific War." It is with rare excitement that one follows the navally impeccable depictions of great battles at sea. The beginning of the war is triggered by the explosion of a large Japanese passenger steamer while passing through the Panama Canal in the Kulebra Inlet, shutting down the canal for three months. The Japanese almost effortlessly capture the Philippines and then Guam. In the end, however, the war ends in a draw. That such thoughts were also being entertained in Japan was again shown by a book published in 1939 by Lieutenant General Sato: "The Japanese-American War Looms." Because of the inevitability of this war, the general advises the Japanese to start the war as soon as possible, using all the means of power of the Empire. He indicates the stages in which it is to take place, even with the loss of valuable warship units. In four to five years, the Japanese Wehrmacht should have penetrated as far as the east coast of America. America was not lacking in challenges to Japan. In the fall of 1939, for example, U.S. Ambassador Grew returned from a long vacation in his homeland and delivered a speech to the American-Japanese Society in Tokyo that attacked Japan's East Asia policy in the sharpest terms, without the ambassador making any reference to Japanese back-questions in Washington was disavowed. It was explained that the ambassador had spoken as a private citizen, which no one could believe in front of such an audience.

What options would America have in a war against Japan? The preparation of the most favorable possible naval strategic position has already been mentioned. The pincer-like orientation of American bases in the Pacific Ocean has been pointed out, as has America's asserted interest in the status of the Dutch Indies. Thus America is reaching far into Southeast Asia, still considerably beyond the

Philippines. The Americans have no reason to accuse the Japanese of being under the thumb of the military clique in political decisions. In their case, the situation is quite similar. Thus Rear Admiral Yarnell, whom we have already met as chief of the American Asian fleet in Hong Kong during the visit of the British admiral, made the demand that America should appropriate Singapore. When Roosevelt was about to launch his great rearmament plans, the then Chief of Operations of the Navy, Admiral Leahy, later Governor of Porto Rico, took the floor and demanded for the United States the right of defense also in Ibcro-America. This has given rise to the ever-climbing billions spent on American rearmament, with a strength for the Navy equal to that of the next two strongest navies. America's joining forces with the British, as demonstrated to Japan's detriment at the Washington Conference, did not spring from pure feelings of friendship on America's part, but from a very sober egoism. Here, for once, was an opportunity to put Japan in an inferior position to America at sea, but at the same time to strengthen her own naval armaments. With England, America received the ratio 5 for the fleet strength in battleships and aircraft carriers, Japan the number 3. The equality with England could only be achieved by England disarming considerably, i.e. to 15 battleships, while America had not yet reached this number at all, thus could rearm. Now that the naval treaties have been abolished altogether, this consideration from the naval point of view has only historical value. At the same time, however, it becomes clear how the relationship between England and America really is.

The characteristic of the Pacific Ocean is its immense vastness, so that the ships navigating it get lost in it and one is justified in speaking of an empty rather than a silent ocean. In a struggle between America and Japan, the war zone would extend from the Bering Sea in the north to the equator in the south and from the Panama Canal in the east to the Yellow Sea in the west. Despite drawing on the smallest islands and island reefs, the bases in this area of operations are not numerous or purpose-built enough to provide the necessary support for a battle fleet. Therefore, the cruising range of ships is critical to strategy in the Pacific. This cruising range, which incidentally is greater in the U.S. fleet than in other nations, is 15,000 nautical miles for battleships, 18,000 nautical miles for 10,000-ton cruisers, and 5,000 nautical miles for destroyers. However, because of submarine and air hazards, utilization of the slowest, most economical speed is not to be expected. At top speed, the corresponding sailing ranges are only 6000, 2500, and 900 nautical miles. The general introduction of oil firing on warships has now brought with it a substantial increase in cruising ranges. A battleship will then be able to travel 50,000 nautical miles on a single oil supply, a cruiser 58,000 nautical miles, and a destroyer 16,000 nautical miles.

It is highly unlikely that Japanese warships will advance to the American coast. Japan would thus fragment its forces where it has favorable conditions for waging offensive-defensive war in its own waters. America would therefore have to take the initiative and span the Pacific in its entire breadth. In this case, Japan would be in a favorable position to advance against the long-stretched American lines of communication. Pearl Harbor on the Hawaiian island of Oahu is 2100 miles from San Francisco, but Guam is only 1510 miles east of Manila and 1400 from Tokyo. Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Islands is 2500 miles from Tokyo. If you put the cruising area next to these great distances, they readily result in the great difficulties that stand in the way of an American attack on Japan. The American naval forces are particularly threatened by the large Japanese submarine cruisers, of which there are a large number. They can cross the Pacific, remain in American waters for several weeks, and return without replenishing their oil supplies. Only two or three such boats could cause serious trouble to the American fleet in their cruising fabs between Hawaii and California. America possesses few such submarine cruisers, which in turn could cruise in Japanese waters. Some of the large Japanese submarines are minelayers, so they could litter the approaches to Pearl Harbor and even to American mainland ports with mines. On the other hand, America could attack the Japanese

naval bases at Yokohama (Yoku- saka) and Kure or Tokyo itself from the air with a squadron of its large aircraft carriers from Dutch Harbor.

The relatively favorable strategic position of Japan, which has little to fear seriously from a blockade even after the creation of a productive hinterland by its policy of expansion to the continent, could deteriorate if America were to establish itself in Singapore and, probably taking advantage of the East Asian mainland, push into Japan's southwestern flank, a case which is being seriously considered in Japan. It must be regarded as certain that the United States will retain its bases on the islands even in the event of its departure from the Philippines in 1946. Under the terms of the Philippine Independence Treaty, United States military property is to be turned over to the Filipinos in 1946, with the addition that negotiations are still to be maintained over naval reservations. The outcome of these negotiations, which are to begin no later than two years after independence is achieved, can hardly be in doubt. The bases at Cavite, Olongapo and the heavily fortified barrier island of Corri- gidor off Manila Bay are likely to remain American.

The question: war between America and Japan? cannot possibly be answered with an outright yes or no. Perhaps this formulation seems acceptable: about two years ago it could be considered that both countries, America as well as Japan, would like to avoid this last step if possible. America seemed inclined to the Japanese view that the eastern Pacific was America's domain, while dominance of the western part fell to Japan. The day when America terminated the trade treaty with Japan marked the beginning of a period in which America has gone deeper into Pacific problems, reaching over into the western part of the Pacific even more than before, and thus substantially aggravating mutual relations. There are forces at work in America today which advocate a Pacific policy which already bears the stamp of disaster politics on its brow. In Japan, this development is viewed with concern, but soberly, and without abandoning the sail in the face of the impending danger. Many people are of the opinion that Japan must anticipate the onset of this danger in good time. The prerequisite remains that Japan end the Chinese conflict quickly so as not to be restricted in its freedom of action. Only then can Japan sovereignly determine the right moment on its own.

The repercussions of the European war on conditions in the Far East and the Pacific are far-reaching and profound. Even if there should be no armed conflicts there beyond the Sino-Japanese War, substantial shifts in the balance of power are to be expected. The bill will be paid first and foremost by England and, in its wake, France. This sequence of events has already become clear in 1939 and 1940. Dutch India is in the midst of future decisions.

XV

THE THREE POWER BLOC

It is only in our days that space has become a firmly defined geographic-political concept, although spaces have had their significance in all great periods of human history. It was reserved for imperialism that the great and above all sea-powerful nations reached over into foreign spaces and settled in the foreign space or seized parts of it by force. Heinrich Friedjung has characterized this imperialism aptly in his work "The Age of Imperialism". He understands it as the urge of peoples and rulers for a growing share in world domination, initially through overseas possessions. Friedjung supplements this definition of the term by the characteristic that the drive has been driven to clear consciousness, has been raised to the guiding principle of action. This imperialism recognized only the barriers drawn by other strong peoples. Born of violence, it called upon power to judge and did not rest earlier until passions had run riot in war. With the year 1918 imperialism can be considered to have run its course. Although the peoples who had indulged in it were still reluctant to recognize its dethronement, they could not prevent the nation-state from beginning to assert itself, uniting within its borders the inhabitants of its own race and nationality and deriving its strength from the concentrated power of the people. This

nationalism invoked the grandchildren's statute-barred right to the heritage of the fathers and urged that the imperialist conquests be eliminated.

Europe, but even more so East Asia and the island flats of the Pacific Ocean, are the most tangible examples of the imperialism that blossomed before the world war. Before the turn of the century, it seemed as if the imperialists wanted to divide the great Chinese empire among themselves. Only their competitive jealousy had the consequence that it remained with the creation of foreign lease areas, after already before by concessions

and foreign branches, also through direct cessions of territory such as Hong Kong and much earlier Macao, the sovereignty of the Chinese empire was touched. Singapore and Indochina are further signs of the imperialist robbery period. The United States made a particularly wide grab from its own living space into a foreign one when it took the 2000 islands of the Philippines from the Spanish inheritance, thus encroaching on Japanese space. Japan has known how to protect itself from such imperialist incursions in its own country. In order to eliminate even the last semblance of it, it took a little noticed but in this context very remarkable step a few years ago. The foreign powers were given the land on which their diplomatic missions had built their homes in perpetuity. This method of fixing seemed intolerable to the Japanese, and their Government contrived to have the perpetuities changed into ordinary leases. This does not change the state of affairs in and of itself, but the figurehead has been given a new form that is tolerable for a national state.

The nation-state is the preliminary stage for the great conception of space. It is not to be examined here where the spatial idea of modern coinage first appeared. On the contrary, it is proved that it could arise

only on the soil of authoritarian states. New centers of power are emerging among them, which will storm against the outdated powers and give the world the new order on the basis of large-scale politics. In Europe it is Germany and Italy, on the other side of the globe it is Japan, which is waging war in China in order to create the Greater Asia area, in which Japan, Manchukuo and China should cooperate politically, economically and culturally for their own good and for the good of the world and world peace. But already the development has gone further with the rapidity with which in our time periods follow each other. The European and the East Asian living space have taken up the connection with each other, in order to prepare the way for a world ordered according to plan. Thus, for the same reasons, the tripartite agreement of 27 September was reached.

ber 1940, which, in the form of a military alliance, at the same time proclaims to the world the strength of over 250 million people and thus the will to repel opposing forces.

Germany had found itself on November 25, 1936 with Japan in an ideological agreement against anti-state elements, to which Italy had joined on November 6, 1937. Japan had already preceded this agreement years ago with its law against dangerous thoughts. On November 9, 1937, in a speech in Munich before the Old Guard, the Führer Adolf Hitler described the combination of powers that had come about, as already mentioned, as a great world political triangle. Initially, the common platform had been found only on an ideological basis. The time was not yet ripe for a spatial-political agreement. The East Asian was perhaps more educated to think in terms of large spaces than the European, who thinks in terms of small spaces. Although Japan, like Germany, is spatially limited in its own country, its view of East Asia and especially its campaign in the vastness of China as well as the size of the Pacific Ocean, to which it belongs as an island state, had sharpened its eyes for such large combinations. While many in Germany had misgivings about extending such far-reaching relations still further, this plan very soon gained a foothold in Japan and found enthusiastic supporters who strove to drive it forward with power. In official form, Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota commented on this in May 1938 at the customary conference of provincial prefects in Tokyo. He was foreign minister in the first cabinet of Prime Minister Konoye, whose cabinet, at the beginning of his second premiership, approved the signing of the Tripartite Agreement in Berlin after it had been sanctioned by the Japanese emperor. Hirota at that time strongly advocated close relations between Japan, Germany, and Italy, saying that this association with the two European countries was desirable not only in connection with the war in China but also from the general international situation. With this declaration, the Japanese heads of mission in Berlin and Rome were, to a certain extent, given authority

The German and Italian governments were given the opportunity to discuss the plan with the German and Italian governments. Subsequently, Ambassadors Oshima and Shiratori devoted themselves with conviction and energy to the implementation of the plan. The road was still long. When Prince Konoye resigned with his Cabinet at the beginning of January 1939, the Foreign Minister in the succeeding Hiranuma Cabinet, Arita, also made the statement in the House of Representatives on January 21, 1939, that the more the German-Italian-Japanese agreement was extended and strengthened, the more it would be a guarantee of world peace.

In the summer of 1939, there was open talk in Tokyo of a military alliance with the Axis powers. Negotiations on this subject in the Cabinet dragged on for weeks. After much back and forth, the compromise decision was born in the Cabinet to stand faithfully by the 1936/37 agreement but to reject a transformation into a military alliance.

Germany's August 1939 agreement with Russia led to the resignation of the Hiranuma Cabinet. The visible resentment in Tokyo against Germany continued for some time. Only the European war brought the realization that Germany had pursued a brilliant realpolitik with the treaty with Russia, that a diplomatic masterpiece had been accomplished at the eleventh hour. The two subsequent cabinets of

General Abe and Admiral Yonai could only be regarded as transitional cabinets that refused to pick up the thread on the question of the military alliance. However, the months that followed until Prince Konoye's second cabinet took office were not lost. The situation was pressing. Thus, the Tripartite Pact was signed in Berlin on September 27, 1940.

For Japan, the new impetus had come from a very special quarter. Against its will, America became the moving motor, which, as executor of the British Empire, seemed to be advancing ever deeper into the Japanese living space, as expressed in the official note to Japan on the question of the Dutch Indies. Thus, it could not come as a surprise when Foreign Minister Mat-suoka gave the Japanese living space of Greater East Asia a new

expansion. It was to include not only Japan, China and Manchu-kuo, but also the South Seas.

The negotiations for the conclusion of the Three-Power Pact between Germany, Italy and Japan were conducted in such strict secrecy that the announcement at the official act of state in Berlin came as a tremendous surprise to the world, indeed as a very great sensation, as this brilliant achievement deserved. The Japanese people received the conclusion of the pact with great enthusiasm. Those who knew how to read between the lines could easily see from Article 3 which power had substantially promoted the conclusion of the pact. The warning to America was clear enough. The three treaty-making powers had thus moved particularly close to each other after both the Axis powers and Japan had found themselves in their places as powers of order aiming at a reorganization of the world. In the official German declaration on the conclusion of the pact, the aim of this policy was clearly stated: the striving of the German people for a free influence in the area of life to which it is entitled according to the geographical situation, the historical past and its national greatness as well as the economic conditions, which does not mean an intrusion into foreign interests of life, but an extraordinary self-restraint. The union with Italy and Japan was called the solemn proclamation of a block of the highest common interests in the middle of a reshaping world. In other phrases, the Italian and Japanese sides gave expression to the same lines of thought at the signing. In a statement by the Japanese Government, Japan's accession to the Pact was still justified in a special way when it was said that in the interests of its political aims it had sought and now found the closest connection with like-minded nations, in order at the same time to induce those states which wished to prevent Japan from doing so to examine their attitude with insight. From both the German and Italian sides the great services which Foreign Minister Matsuoka had rendered in bringing about the Tripartite Pact were emphasized.

The determination of the signatories, where appropriate, to use their

Wehrmacht into the decision was clearly expressed in the German government declaration at the conclusion of the pact when it was said: "Any state, however, which should intend to interfere in the final phase of the solution of these problems in Europe or in East Asia, and to attack a state of this three-power pact, will have to deal with the entire combined force of the three peoples of over 250 million."

At the conclusion of the pact, all three powers were at war, in a war of choice, with the highest national interests of each at stake. Germany was fighting for over a year, Italy for six months, Japan was already fighting in the fourth year of its holy war. To the European Axis powers, too, their war against England seemed a holy war. What fighting strength the three powers can throw into the decision is not difficult to calculate. They have at their disposal a rich supply of young men, animated by the same will, and to whom a constant supply of new men is inexhaustibly flowing. All three have rich war experience and will share this experience. Great victories were won by them, in Europe as well as in East Asia, not only on the battlefield but also in political leadership. The initiative was always theirs. Their opponents were immediately forced into defense. In this they were helped by the masterful use of the moment of surprise, militarily and politically.

The Japanese armed forces still gratefully remember the help given by German instructors, headed by General Meckel, in the eighties of the last century in a devoted and sacrificial manner in building up the Japanese army. Later, too, German officers came to Japan for training purposes, and still more Japanese officers pursued military studies in Germany. Even the unfortunate outcome of the World War did not change this, because people in Japan firmly believed in the resurgence of Germany and the rebirth of its Wehrmacht. In September 1932, the last German autumn exercises took place under the fetters of Versailles, with Field Marshal von Hindenburg participating for the last time. One did not see heavy artillery

and in place of the banned armored cars with a tin hood passenger cars. The air was clear of airplanes. When this was brought to the attention of the Japanese military attaché Colonel Banzai, who was present at the maneuvers, he said with a smile, "You'll have them back soon!"

As a Pacific power, Japan needs a strong fleet. The Washington Conference had placed Japan in second line behind America and England with nine battleships against 15 of the others. This enforced restriction led to the scrapping of old ship units, leaving Japan with a highly modern fleet. The crews of the Japanese warships are elite. Now that the shackles of the Washington Naval Treaty have fallen, Japan has moved to expand its fleet, which the U.S. side already considers equal in strength to the American fleet. The previous tonnage limit of 35,000 tons has also been exceeded by Japan. Battleships over 40,000 tons are being built. America seeks to counter this buildup by planning floating fortresses of over 50,000 tons, although the European war has shown that a question mark must be placed on the value of such large ships.

If Japan has been fighting China for more than three years, every Japanese is aware that this fight is ultimately for England, which, with the help of China, is resisting Japan's plans for Greater East Asia. The conclusion of the Tripartite Pact has had the effect that the Japanese have now spoken openly of it, in the sense that Japan intends to use all its strength against any power that might stand by England. America has given to its Monroe Doctrine, which at its birth in 1823 was intended only for American domestic use, an expansion which means an encroachment from its own living space, which the doctrine was intended to protect, into foreign living spaces and is therefore rejected by the three pact powers. For Germany, too, experienced this exaggeration of the doctrine when it was officially informed in an American note on June 18, 1940, that America could not tolerate the possessions of non-American states lying in the Western Hemisphere being taken possession of by other non-American states. Germany could rightly reply that she had never had any intentions of territorial acquisitions in the Western Hemisphere. To this was added the clear sentence: "The demand under the Monroe Doctrine that European countries should not interfere in the affairs of the American continent is reasonable as a principle only if American states refrain in like manner from interfering in European affairs." One does not seem to want to follow this clear statement in Washington. Otherwise, what would be the point of assembling a special Atlantic fleet of over 120 vessels after the division into Atlantic and Pacific fleets was abandoned at the end of 1921? And just as Germany resents interference in European affairs, so Japan contends that the United States should adhere to the principle that non-Asiatic states are not to interfere in Asiatic affairs. If America adheres to this demand, then the theory of the "open door" in East Asia, which it put into the world, no longer has any justification, and neither does the Nine-Power Treaty of the Washington Conference. The American Monroe Doctrine has degenerated and become an arbitrary and self-serving doctrine.

Europe and Asia, like America, can claim the right to own their own Monroe Doctrine in the well-understood sense of the word and to frame their actions accordingly. Seen in this light, the three-power pact has stabilized the regional Monroe Doctrine. The spaces created in Europe by the Axis powers, by Japan in East Asia, develop their material and human sources of assistance not according to liberalist

principles, but according to the principles of full independence for the benefit of the whole group. The same applies to the conduct of the policy of these spaces. As a result, they become largely self-sufficient in all areas of state and private life. This does not preclude them from complementing each other where necessary and from cooperating extensively in all areas.

work. The Three-Power Pact crowns this new world system, which is primarily intended to serve world peace by bringing the wars waged in the West and the East to a conclusion, but which is also intended to prevent new wars from being arbitrarily started in the future.

September 27, 1940 marked the beginning of a new era in world history.